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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 113, NO. 12 NEW YORK, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1945 NUMBER 1607

MacArthur and Hirohito

General MacArthur's announcement that he will be boss of the Japanese Emperor, and that we shall stay in Japan until the Potsdam terms are carried out, may have been necessary to disabuse the Japanese people of any idea that we are there only as honored guests. But the evident intention to give the imperial government a chance to carry out the required reforms merely emphasizes the old puzzle. How are we to trust in the abolition of militarism, the renunciation of aggressive intentions, the installation of democracy and liberal rights, as long as the core of the old regime remains in power? Is it possible to revolutionize Japan from the top down? Maybe that is the only way to start, but unless some autonomous forces arise which are not ready to do any bidding of the Emperor, however unfamiliar or unpleasant it may be, we may discover after our departure that the same Japanese power which ordered surrender, disarmament and democracy will have as little difficulty in reviving their opposites.

Postwar Armament

The Navy proposes to keep a fleet almost as numerous as that with which we finished the war, and one that in actuality would probably be as powerful, since most of the vessels to be discarded would be obsolete. The Army is pressing for universal military service in peacetime. Controversies are already raging about these proposals. We freely confess that we do not know the answers, but there are basic principles which we think all progressives ought to accept as a beginning.

First of all, we must remember that, desirable as disarmament is, it did not bring us peace last time. Unless the nations which desire peace and intend firmly to have it retain the power to check possible aggressors at the outset, war becomes more likely rather than less. Second, the amount and kinds of power necessary for collective security still remain to be discovered. We may need a navy and an air force twice as large as those of any other nation, but again we may not. It hardly seems likely. Third, pending the possibility of making a long-term decision, we should not indulge in unilateral disarmament. This is not the time to decide either to keep a big navy forever or to sink the one we have.

Investigating Pearl Harbor

The most important thing to remember about the Pearl Harbor investigation is that its original motive was political. Worthwhile lessons can be gained from such an enquiry, but those who have been demanding it longest and loudest don't want to learn them. They want, first, to smear the memory of the late President Roosevelt, and, second, to hurt the Democratic Party in its chances to win the election of 1948. In order to do this, they have to set up the theory that President Roosevelt, who had spent years trying to warn the American people of the dangers of fascist aggression, for some obscure reason of his own wanted the American fleet at Pearl Harbor to be attacked. That there were grave negligence and inexcusable recklessness on the part of more than one individual goes without saying: after all, the fleet was sunk. The important lessons to be learned are in regard to relations between Army and Navy, the fitness of certain commanders for their posts, the system of advancement which can put incompetent men in high place. We hope the forthcoming investigation will be complete, thorough, sparing

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1945, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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nobody and no institution. It will be wasted, however, if it is made into a political smear.

The Big Five Meet

No agenda has been prepared for the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Five in London, but some of the issues to be dealt with are well known. In the first place, peace treaties will have to be drawn up with the former Balkan satellites of Italy and Germany. In all likelihood, these treaties will be mild for the countries concerned, as the victorious powers are vying for their friendship. In the second place, there are a number of territorial questions to be settled, among them the disposition of the former Italian colonies in Africa, Poland's western frontier, the former Japanese-held islands in the Pacific and control of European inland waterways, especially the future status of the Turkish straits. A number of frontier disputes between smaller nations also require settlement, particularly the problem of Trieste and Macedonia. Supplementary decisions will have to be made as to the German settlement, including the possible internationalization of the Ruhr Basin and the Rhine. On all of these questions, agreement can easily be reached. This is not the case, however, in the matter of the future political complexion of the regimes which have come to power in Eastern Europe under Russian auspices, but in which the Anglo-American powers have shown considerable interest in the last few weeks.

High-Speed Reconversion

Governmental encouragement of reconversion continues with dizzy haste; now almost all controls are gone except price ceilings. These are subject to strong attack by business forces, and may be nibbled away if they are not revoked. The best safeguard against price inflation is of course not governmental control, necessary as that is in the transitional period, but abundant production of the scarcer goods. Business keeps issuing optimistic reports about the speed of reconversion, and we hope it is right. For if it is not, we are in for a very uncomfortable session of unemployment, perhaps combined with soaring prices. Let it now be registered that, in the reconversion policy, private enterprise has been granted almost everything it wants. It is now running with the ball. But the coaches in Washington should be prepared to send in a team of substitutes at short notice if it gets stalled in mid-field.

The Balkan Muddle

Charges and counter-charges have been hurled at each other by spokesmen of the Big Three as well as by Balkan politicians, as to whether or not the governments set up in Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece are democratic. The greatest mistake that could be made would be to lump the problems of the various Balkan countries together. While we believe that the Anglo-American diplomatic intervention in Bulgaria has on the whole been salutary—opposition parties have now come into the open and their leaders have been freed—the Rumanian situation is altogether different. Of the alternatives to be chosen in that country, the Russian-backed cabinet of Premier Groza might be preferable to a government dependent on King Michael, particularly in view of the unsavory role played on the side of reaction by the monarchy in the past. It is true, however, that while the Groza cabinet may be the lesser evil, it does not include all the country's democratic elements, for instance the followers of Peasant Party Leader Juliu Maniu. But unlike the case in Bulgaria, Rumania's democratic potential is relatively weak and the reactionary opposition still comparatively strong. For this reason, a Russian-backed, though not freely elected, leftist government might be necessary until the conditions of democracy have been created to make possible the application of democratic procedures such as are contemplated now in Bulgaria and Greece.

Talking about Money with Britain

As the Anglo-American talks begin in Washington, one can only pray for wisdom, tolerance and understanding on both sides. It is only natural that Americans, whose income taxes and national debt are heavy, should feel that with the end of the war, and with the prospect that about $35 billion in Lend-Lease, beyond all payments on reverse Lend-Lease, is to be written off, they have done their share. It is equally natural that the British, faced with a desperate economic dilemma which most Americans do not even grasp, and remembering the 27 months during which Britain carried the burden of the anti-fascist war almost alone, should expect some elementary consideration. While these points of view seem far apart, they can be reconciled, and there is one important bridge between them. That is the fact that no possible payments that Great Britain or any other foreign country could make to us can be so important to us as the maintenance of prosperity. Neither country can prosper, in the long run, unless the other does. We would do far better, if necessary, to make Great Britain an outright gift of the comparatively small sum she needs to tide her over, than to insist on our pound of flesh and see the whole world go down toward anarchy.

Atomic-Bomb Secrecy

The United States has a terrific responsibility in deciding how to control the atomic bomb, and no decision should be lightly made. But delay in itself is likely to produce awkward results. Every nation which does not know the secret will look upon this country with fear and suspicion, and all those which can do so will hasten to work it out for themselves. With all that is of general knowledge already—indeed, on the

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basis of what was known even before the war—any well financed research organization could find the answer within a few years at most.

British scientists coöperated with Americans in the project; if Britain does not already share the full secret, she can do so with a minimum of effort. Russian scientists are among the world's leaders, and the Soviet government is lavish in supporting those of their efforts which are regarded as of national importance. We had better declare our intention to turn the secret over to our allies, for control by the World Security Council, while we can get the credit for doing so, and before the fears of others assign to us dangerous motives.

Steel Wages

The steelworkers are preparing to present to the industry important demands for a wage increase. They are asking an addition of about $250 million annually. This seems like a lot until you recall that steel is now a $6-billion industry; actually, the new increase will be only in the neighborhood of 22 percent. The steelworkers have had an 18-percent increase in their basic pay during a period when the Bureau of Labor Statistics admits that the cost of living has gone up about 30 percent, and the unions say it has gone up 40 percent. During the war the industry worked 48 hours a week on a basic work week of 40 hours. This overtime has now been abolished, and it will cut about $13 a week from the average pay envelope, bringing it down from $57 to $44. The steel industry will be saving about $130 million because of the abolition of overtime, and if the excess-profits tax is removed, which seems almost certain, they will profit another $250 million. Of course, the conservatives will shout that the increase demanded—which would just about keep steel wages where they are now—is inflationary; but there is no reason to believe that this is necessarily true. Economic Stabilizer Davis has suggested that wages as a whole can and should be increased 50 percent without any increase in prices, if we keep production high. The demand of the steelworkers is a challenge to the industry to achieve this result.

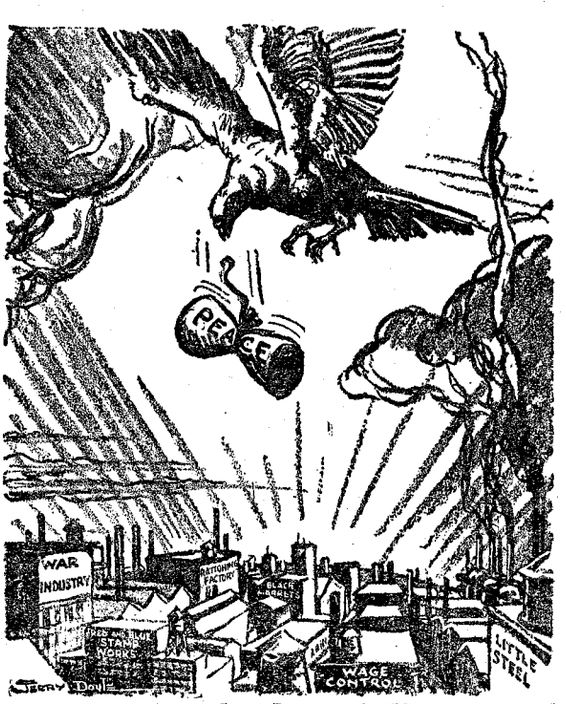
Job Insurance

There is little chance now that President Truman's request for improved unemployment-compensation legislation will be approved by Congress. The powerful state unemployment commissioners and their lobbyist friends have been so successful in undermining support for the Kilgore unemployment bill that Senator Walter George of Georgia, chairman of the Finance Committee which is considering the bill, now feels free to reveal his opposition to it. Until last week, George had been saying that he favored the Kilgore bill to provide maximum jobless benefits of $25 per week for 26 weeks, "in principle." Then the glib arguments of the states'-rights lobbyists began to win over additional members of the Finance Committee, and the Senate was presented with the returns from a questionnaire which recorded 21 states as refusing to revise their present laws so that federal benefits could be paid without deduction from the regular state payment. Senator George eagerly concluded from this that "it is just not a workable program as it stands. I don't believe we could reasonably expect the various legislatures to be called into special sessions to amend their laws." Thus the Administration leader in charge of carrying out this phase of Mr. Truman's program openly flouted the President's request the day after it was made.

This does not mean that no unemployment-compensation bill will pass Congress. Several features of the Kilgore bill will probably be approved, for example those extending benefits to government employees and to merchant seamen, and granting travel allowances to war workers with which to move to areas where there may be jobs. Congressional tories have not changed their stripes just because we have changed Presidents. The Unholy Alliance is still in operation.

Governmental Reorganization

President Truman has asked Congress for power to reorganize existing government agencies and to create such new departments as he believes are needed. There are signs that he will meet with the same kind, if not the same degree, of opposition encountered by President Roosevelt when he submitted similar proposals. Senator Pat McCarran (D., Nev.), chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee which is considering the Administration's bill, feels that the main purpose of reorganization should be to return to the states the powers which, according to him, the federal govern-



Jerry Doyle in the Philadelphia Record

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ment "usurped" during the war. Representative Carter Manasco (D., Ala.), chairman of the House Expenditures Committee handling the bill, has indicated that he will do his best to hamstring the President in his efforts to strengthen the federal system.

A thoroughgoing reorganization of many parts of the governmental machinery is long overdue. Budget Director Harold Smith emphasized one of these spots when he testified before the Senate committee on the need for a department of public welfare, combining the existing agencies which now handle social security, health, education, and allied programs. The Federal Security Agency will naturally form the base of this new department if and when it is established.

Human Problems of Peace

Bernard Baruch has again warned the government that it must strengthen the human side of its reconversion program, this time in a report on veterans' problems prepared at the request of the new Veterans' Administrator, General Omar Bradley. It is not hard to think of more and better ways of strengthening the GI Bill of Rights than those suggested by Mr. Baruch, but, in general, his suggestions seem to us to be in the right direction. Particularly important, to war workers as well as returning fighting men, is his call for a "Work Director" in the Office of Reconversion to supervise the transfer of both groups to civilian usefulness. As Baruch points out, this job was created by Congress more than a year ago, but it is still vacant. Here is one point at least where President Truman is free to act without waiting for Congress.

The Kidnapers of Vichy

Probably there are very few people left in the world —unless perhaps the American Admiral Leahy—who do not now know that the Pétain-Laval regime at Vichy was as wickedly and completely Nazi as Hitler's own government in Berlin. If there are any doubters left, we commend to them a little story told in the September issue of *Free World*. This concerns a Swedish banker, Olof Aschberg, a long-time resident of Paris who was for no apparent reason put under house arrest in the city of Rodez after the Germans overran France.

All his efforts to get permission to leave France were unavailing, until finally he received a letter from the *chef de cabinet* of Pierre Laval inviting him to come to Vichy for an important conference. When he got there he was told in Laval's outer office by a subordinate official that an exit visa would be readily forthcoming if he would sell to the government a large block of shares of Pathé-Cinema at a stipulated price—naturally, far below their value. Aschberg at first refused, but becoming more alarmed about the safety of himself and his family, he finally wrote to Pétain offering to give the shares to the Vichy government in exchange for permission to leave. A henchman, one Tixier-Vignancourt, answered saying that once the shares were handed over, Aschberg need not fear for his welfare. But the Swedish banker knew with whom he was dealing; he demanded an official acknowledgment from Pétain of the gift. Pétain did not write one, but Laval did. On his official letterhead as Vice Prime Minister, Laval acknowledged the transaction in the bluntest language:

> You have been kind enough to offer to the French State as a gift your shares in the Pathé-Cinema business.
>
> I thank you wholeheartedly for your generous gesture and inform you that as soon as these shares are delivered, nothing will stand in the way, so far as I am concerned, of your receiving an exit permit for yourself and your family, and also identity papers previously confiscated.

Was there ever another such letter written from one of the two chief figures in the government of an important nation? The answer probably is yes; Hitler made a business of similar wholesale kidnaping and holding people for ransom. Many millions of dollars were paid, a large part from the United States, to rescue his victims. The Chicago gangsters of the prohibition era must be rolling in their graves to see how their European imitators, at least temporarily, outdid them.

Exploiting the Cotton-Picker

Some very queer doings are now in progress in the South in regard to the wages to be paid to the men, women, and sometimes children, who pick cotton. In 1942, Congress passed the Economic Stabilization Act, authorizing the President to set farm wages; President Roosevelt in turn delegated the authority to the Secretary of Agriculture. A State Wage Board is set up in each state, which holds hearings and then sets a tentative figure for farm wages. This is then submitted to a referendum of the state's farmers and referred back to the Secretary of Agriculture. He fixes the figure, which, however, must not be higher than that recommended by the State Wage Board.

This all sounds fine in theory, but in practice it is working out very badly indeed. In the South, for example, cotton-pickers are paid by the pound. In several states, hearings and referenda have been or are being held, and ceilings are being established giving the cotton-picker from $2 per 100 pounds down to as little as $1.25. This means in many areas a total seasonal income for the picker of $200 or less. It also, of course, destroys trade unionism among the pickers, since collective bargaining on wages is forbidden.

Unsound Policy

In the state referenda, no cotton-picker is allowed to vote, but only his potential employer. In the hearings, two main points are made: first, that since there is a ceiling on the price of cotton, we must have a low price

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on the cost of picking; and second, that poor sharecroppers must pay their hired hands, and cannot afford decent wages. Both arguments, of course, are nonsense. The ceiling price on cotton is so high that the planter can well afford to pay more than $2 per 100 pounds and still make very good profits. As for the plight of the poor sharecropper, he is enjoying unprecedented war prosperity; and in any case, it is socially unwise to keep one element in poverty and then use that poverty as an excuse to starve another element. The plight of the cotton-picker will soon be made far worse by the advent of the mechanical picking machine; this is no time to exploit him mercilessly. The war is over; ceilings on industrial wages have been abolished. We should immediately cancel this whole ugly scheme.

Mr. Truman's Challenge

IT WOULD BE impossible in relatively short space to make intelligent comment on the subject matter of the score or more of important recommendations in the President's message. Many of them concern matters previously discussed at some length, and arguments about others will fill editorial columns for weeks to come. Certain general observations may, however, be made on the program as a whole.

The first is that the sheer volume of important legislative changes now demanded by the Executive cannot be equaled by the tasks assigned to any peacetime Congress in recent history, except that which was kept so busy during the first "hundred days" of the new Roosevelt Administration in 1933. Mr. Truman has not skimped his job; he has included everything which seems to require prompt consideration, from full employment to governmental reorganization. But this result is no *tour de force* of imagination or list of happy inspirations suggested by an academic brain trust. There is hardly a single recommendation on which the action of Congress is not of immediate importance to the welfare of the people of the United States or of the world, and which does not arise out of practical considerations.

How does it happen that so huge a program is laid out for a legislative body which seems so ill prepared to act upon it? Some of the necessity of course arises from the unexpectedly sudden ending of the greatest war in history. But the message includes much more than what would be technically necessary to liquidate a war economy. The more important suggestions involve a redefinition of targets and a lifting of sights for the peace economy itself. If the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt had ever been carried to a successful conclusion, these objectives would have occupied the attention of Congress and the country long before Pearl Harbor. But there was a slackening of the progressive impetus during Mr. Roosevelt's third term, attributable partly to the concessions he thought it necessary to make to reaction in order to keep a liberal regime in power and partly to his interest in uniting the country in preparation for playing its part in the world crisis. The full-employment program, the extension of federal housing and other social measures are all projects which might well have been urged before 1940. In part, therefore, the length of the list of presidential recommendations is indicative of a social lag.

Another factor also accounts for the volume of work which Congress must now do if it is to catch up with the times. Almost from the beginning of the war, it was foreseen by intelligent observers that subjects such as these would demand consideration as soon as it was over. Past experience had shown the dangers of postwar depression and international economic disorganization. The huge production of which our national economy was capable while everybody was employed indicated clearly that it would be no easy matter to find enough peacetime jobs for demobilized veterans and workers. Meanwhile, it was obvious that the popular demand for better standards of employment and of life could be ignored only at the peril of national stability in the future peace. The need for planning was therefore obvious. Nevertheless, such planning made little headway either in executive or in congressional activity.

The President and many of his subordinates were reported to believe that any emphasis on postwar planning while hostilities were in progress would divert necessary attention and energy from the urgent tasks of victory. A majority in Congress was hostile to governmental planning in any event, and this majority was reinforced by conservative public opinion. The action of Congress in abolishing the National Resources Planning Board at that particular moment in the world's history will probably be remembered as one of the silliest and most spiteful gestures of all time. As a result, while the much more hard-pressed British government was laying careful postwar plans even when defeat seemed a real possibility, the planning function of the United States was left to private and voluntary agencies. Congress is now unprepared to face the new world.

President Truman's postwar program is as challenging as was President Roosevelt's recovery program in 1933. There is, however, a good deal of doubt whether he will have as little difficulty in getting it enacted. He has committed himself to it courageously, in spite of the fact that he must know that strong opposition exists in Congress to many of the recommended measures. It will now be impossible for him to back down or to sanction injurious compromises without an immense loss of prestige.

No doubt he will fight for the program in his own way as vigorously as President Roosevelt fought for the measures he recommended. Of course, it will be a

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different way, since Mr. Truman is not the equal of Mr. Roosevelt in mastery of words and influence over popular audiences, though he may excel him in ability to organize legislative support. Nevertheless, the political situation has changed. In the spring of 1933, reactionaries were frightened and nearly powerless, and the country was ready to try anything. Today, conservative business has great monetary resources and professes confidence in its ability to solve all problems with a minimum of governmental intervention.

The issues at stake are tremendous. The maintenance of a stable and expanding economy in the United States is not only critical for the future welfare of our population, but may determine whether our form of government and the basic economic institutions to which we are now committed can survive. The international implications of the outcome are of no less moment. If the United States can bring about and maintain full employment at home, while taking the measures necessary to get the rest of the world on its feet, the chances for the success of international organization and peace are bright. If we fail in these endeavors, every other effort to recover from the horrors of this war and escape those of another will be endangered. The President's message has fixed the immediate plan of the battle against disaster. It is now the duty of all who understand the necessity of victory to dedicate every ounce of their energy to the struggle.

Japanese Atrocities

THE REPORT ON Japanese atrocities is a terrifying and sickening document. We thought when we learned what the Germans had done in the concentration camps that the limit of human degeneration had been reached; but the Japanese are just as bad or worse. Those responsible for these horrors should and must be punished with the utmost severity. Our standards of civilization do not permit us to descend to their own level and treat them as they treated their prisoners of war; but certainly, they should be made to feel the weight of our just anger. It is indeed a question whether prompt execution is not a milder punishment than life imprisonment at hard labor and, if so, whether the latter is not preferable.

The question of atrocities in wartime, like everything else in life, is of course not all white and black. All armies, throughout the world, contain a certain proportion of men with pathological mentality, capable of sadistic cruelty. This is also true of some civilian prison officials throughout the world. If the Japanese had invented the atomic bomb and dropped it on San Francisco or Los Angeles, no doubt protests would have been heard in this country against its use. Yet the fact that these things exist does not in the slightest degree condone what the Japanese and Germans did to their prisoners, millions of whom, in the case of the Germans, were not even captured enemy soldiers, but innocent civilians. There is a tremendous difference between sporadic brutality in the heat of battle and the systematic torturing to death of thousands of war prisoners as a matter of official government policy. The list of Japanese war criminals goes far higher than the men in the prison camps who carried out these orders. It extends right up through the hierarchy of the government, including the Emperor himself. There are important elements in the American State Department which would like to see the more important of the men responsible escape with nominal punishment or none. These are the same men who fear a democratic revolution in Japan and, in order to prevent it, would like to leave in power the wealthy industrialists and aristocrats who plotted this war and are already, no doubt, plotting the next one. Our public opinion will have to speak out strongly to make sure that these American officials do not have their way.

In our bitter anger against the Japanese torturers we must not fall into the Nazi myth of inherent differences between one race and another. People of Japanese race who have been born and brought up in this country are just as appalled and sickened by the cruelty of the Mikado's subjects as are Americans of any other stock. The Japanese traits which permitted them to commit these fiendish cruelties have been instilled in them through generations by deliberate policy on the part of their leaders. The best, the quickest, and indeed the only way to bring the Japanese back into civilization is to encourage the growth of genuine democracy in their country. Here, again, we must fight the singular apathy, to say the least, of some people in our own State Department, who want only that limited and feeble degree of democracy compatible with the continuance of the feudal social organization, and the merciless exploitation of the individual by industrialists in the cities and landlords in farming areas.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
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Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG
Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE
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What's Ahead for Agriculture?

UNDER the stimulus of the war our agriculture has developed fantastic productive power. Each year since we entered the struggle, farm output has scored new records. In 1942 the farmers produced 24 percent more than the 1935-39 average; in 1943 they produced 29 percent more; and in 1944 they ran the increase up to 36 percent above the prewar level. These figures represent the total farm output—foods, feeds and fibers. In terms of food alone the percentage increase is still greater. Now that the war is over, the farmers want to know if they may continue using their enormous productivity, or must throttle it with crop restrictions. This is the farm aspect of the employment problem. In agriculture, unemployment takes the form of failing markets; it appears first of all in production without profit. Eventually it includes actual idleness for many farmers who lose their farms and underemployment for most of the others.

True, the question of whether or not agriculture can stay in high gear is not pressing. Farm production in 1945 may be considerably below requirements, which will still be high for military purposes, not to mention relief. The outlook for food supplies in Europe is bad. Production from continental European sources, for the consumption year 1945-46, will be the smallest since the war began. As compared with the 1944-45 level, it may be down from 5 to 10 percent. Shortages of manpower, fertilizers, draft power and machinery will be grave. Much war-ravaged land is temporarily useless, livestock numbers are low, transport is disorganized. Land-tenure changes in Eastern Europe may temporarily lessen farm production. Moreover, distribution falters. Farmers hoard their crops. Black markets make urban food conditions tragic, and create a situation that only imports can relieve. Supplies available for this purpose, with the exception of wheat and flour, are insufficient. Hence the call for all-out production continues, so that victory may not melt away through famine.

Ultimately, nevertheless, the question what to do with our farm-production capacity will demand an answer—if not this year, then within a very few years. Even with full employment and some export trade, farmers will not long be able to sell as much as they did in, say, 1943. Under conditions of serious unemployment, with possibly seven million or more workers out of jobs, farm prices would probably decline to at least 10 percent below parity; cash sales of farm commodities would drop to about $12 billion, as compared with $20 billion in 1944. Moreover, seven million unemployed would represent only a moderate degree of depression. With, say, 15 million workers unemployed, agricultural prices might drop to 60 percent of parity and cash sales annually to possibly $6.5 billion. It has become evident, and the farmers are well aware of the fact, that farm prosperity depends more on urban employment than on anything else. Farmers want to continue producing at high levels; they want to avoid any return to crop-restriction programs. In other words, they want a high national level of economic activity. So far, however, they have only the wish—not the means of realizing it.

Farm-production capacity is virtually a function of requirements; it is not something on deposit, so to speak, but something which the economy currently *provides*. It rises or falls with effective demand. For example, in 1943 and 1944 we wanted tremendous meat production. Accordingly, the nation allocated facilities for that purpose, such as manpower, machinery, chemicals and government-owned feedstuffs; it *provided* the necessary production capacity. The prevailing criterion then was military: it was the same as the criterion for ships, planes, tanks and guns. Food was essential for military purposes, and food-production facilities simply had to be made available. Shortages, nevertheless, were inevitable, since overemphasis on food would have conflicted with other military needs.

In 1945, the criterion is no longer exclusively military; it is largely social and political, but it continues to be also governmental. In peacetime, individuals ordinarily determine farm-production requirements, through the prices they offer and can pay. Normally it is these prices that determine the available production capacity; and decide, for example, whether a certain field shall stay in wheat or go back to grass. How, and on what level, is farm-production capacity to be determined when full peace comes?

Let us suppose the country must find a demand largely at home for its farm production, with only moderate dependence on markets abroad. Here we have relative self-containment as the bench mark, with production capacity adjusted to domestic requirements. If the farmers' market must be largely domestic, farm production will have to be cut down; for in some crops the present output exceeds even the *physical* domestic need, not to speak of the probably limited consumer buying power. Even then the government may have to provide some of the necessary purchasing power.

Suppose, on the other hand, world trade flows again, aided by a scaling-down of tariffs, coupled with wise monetary arrangements. Agriculture will then, for a while at any rate, have requirements that will engender and sustain large production capacity. But this solu-

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tion raises problems. Lowering of tariffs presupposes a willingness to take imports; farmers would like them to be mainly non-agricultural. But they cannot count on that. In prosperous years we import competitive agricultural products freely, and digest them in addition to supplies from domestic sources. Nevertheless, farmers always object to competitive imports, just as manufacturers object to imports that compete with their goods. In the 1920's, American agriculture turned its back on world trade. It wrote "tariff equality" on its banner, and demanded a monopoly of the *domestic* market. Export trade in farm products, it implied, could be left to the dumping procedure, as proposed in the famous McNary-Haugen plan. Separate the important crops into two parts (said agriculture), one part for sale at boosted prices behind the tariff wall and the other part for sale abroad at whatever price it would bring. Without such protection, low world prices would mean low domestic prices, too. But with such protection, exports fell off.

Reinforced with crop curtailment, this was the system eventually adopted under the Agricultural Adjustment Act. In large measure it succeeded; it raised farm prices and farm incomes, without inflicting any serious hardship on consumers. In one respect, however, it worked badly; it involved us in the world drift toward economic nationalism. As we went down in production for export, other countries went up; moreover, importing countries adopted self-sufficiency programs. Hence farmers now want a different program, one that will have the good without the bad features of the Triple-A system. Specifically, they want satisfactory marketings at home, plus good business abroad. But no formula for it has been discovered.

Farmers want to be rid of scarcity economics, a game they do not play well. Moreover, it is a game that doesn't work if agriculture and industry play it together. When only one of the two great branches of production tries to keep prices up by keeping production down, it may succeed temporarily; but if both try it simultaneously, the result is mutual frustration, with breadlines in cities and unwanted crops on farms. Farmers long to be done with crop limitation. But the decision is not wholly theirs; nor on the other hand is it wholly industry's, though full production on farms presupposes full employment in cities. Ultimately, the decision is the nation's. It must find some way of exchanging goods in international trade, without letting its own production down. Here the farm analysis and likewise the industrial analysis fail. The objection to competitive imports remains. There is a temporary palliative which should not be despised. It is the familiar one of exports maintained above imports through foreign lending. But this has only stop-gap value.

Obviously, failure to solve the foreign-trade dilemma will land agriculture back in economic nationalism. As the first to plunge deep into economic nationalism, the farmers are keenest to get out of it; their keenness, however, has not yet shown them how. Foreign trade that does not balance cannot last. Farmers know that. On the other hand, foreign trade that balances, with imports equal to exports, implies that consumption must equal production *within the country*, either on a high level with little or no unemployment, or on a low level with much employment. Practically, the choice lies between consumption-boosting and idleness. In either case it is a problem primarily for the government. But agriculture and industry must have views as to how it should be handled. With their special interests to consider and their doubts about government spending, they find it difficult to form such views.

Agriculture will probably favor *some* financing of exports through loans in postwar years. It will regard this as a means of boosting production temporarily without heavy subsidization of *domestic* consumers. Foreign lending makes a smaller draft on government activity than does the alternative domestic operation. This makes it attractive to many farmers, who fear the implications of governmental programs. If we have high employment in the postwar years, with the national income distributed about as usual in wages, rents, interest and profits, much capital will accumulate. Some of it can be invested in domestic enterprises, such as shipping, aviation, television, transport, utilities and factories. Probably, however, the domestic opportunity will not absorb it all. In that event the unused part will either have to be sent abroad or drawn upon through taxes or deficit spending for consumer subsidies and public works. Most farmers will prefer the first procedure, as being less experimental and less disturbing to our economic institutions.

On the other hand, many farmers, though probably not a majority, would begin on the domestic front. Consumption, say these farmers, must ultimately balance production on a domestic basis; therefore why not start at once to make it do so? They are thinking, of course, of total consumption—industrial as well as agricultural. For example, the National Farmers' Union has issued a statement which shows it has small faith in loan-financed export trade as a sufficient mainstay of employment. It agrees that the United States should abandon economic isolation and coöperate to eliminate world-trade barriers, but sees that exports offset by imports would leave the consumption problem almost unchanged. Therefore the Farmers' Union believes that after the war the government should distribute necessary foods *beyond* the requirements or buying power of the cash market. In other words, the government should subsidize consumption as a means of keeping the country's farms and factories running.

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Probably the actual postwar program will be of a dual character: it will involve some effort to finance exports above imports, and some effort to keep commodities moving beyond consumer earning power in the domestic market. Nevertheless, the different character of the two expedients inclines individual farmers toward the one or the other. Obviously, too, the national policy will express a preponderance or a bias. In the end, however, the issue will turn on the level of employment that prevails. In an expanding world economy, with capital as well as goods moving outward freely, the ultimate need for matching consumption with production on a domestic basis would be hidden. As soon, however, as the outflow engendered an inflow, the need would come to light again, and show the ultimate futility of the net-export plan.

Meantime, agriculture tends to be influenced by its irksome dependence on government programs. Farmers prefer to get their income in the market place. As a result of government price supports, agriculture has been getting prices higher in the domestic than in the foreign market. Under this arrangement, however, part of their pay comes from the Treasury. Price supports now cover nearly 100 crops. In most cases they must be continued for at least another two years. But the system involves two drawbacks: (1) the dependence of exports on subsidies and consequently on government controls, and (2) an absolute loss of exports. Under that system farmers can see no end to their dependence, directly or indirectly, on government payments. They are not ready fully to trust competitive prices once more. But if there is the slightest chance of spontaneous trade recovery, they want to grab it. Hence boosted export trade looks good to them, even on a temporary basis.

One proposal, which has been elaborated in detail for cotton, would put cotton back at once on the world level—say 8 or 10 cents a pound as compared with the parity price of 21 cents. As compensation, the growers would receive income payments of two types. One type would partly bridge the gap between the newly set competitive price and the parity price. It would be based on prewar cotton-acreage allotments and would apply, on a diminishing scale, for five years. In the first year the price-adjustment payment might represent the full difference between the market price and the parity price; in the second year it might represent 80 percent of the difference; in the third year 60 percent; in the fourth year 40 percent; and in the fifth year 20 percent. In subsequent years there would be no price-adjustment payment. All growers would receive this type of payment.

The other type of payment would be contingent upon voluntary coöperation in a farm-conversion plan, whereby some farmers would get out of cotton entirely and others would reduce their production of this crop. This plan would be part of a longer-range program, which would aim at developing a good system of farming and farm living for the cotton states. Payments would cover labor and other out-of-pocket costs, and would be at uniform rates for given practices. Both this type of payment and the price-adjustment type would be distributed between landlords and tenants in a manner agreed upon in advance and regarded as equitable by the responsible officials. The general purpose is to put cotton where it can stand again on its own feet, with no dependence on government payments except those for soil conservation. It would make American cotton competitive with foreign growths, and also with materials such as the synthetic fibers.

We may sum the matter up about as follows: Agriculture's hopes for continued full production depend on the nation's hopes for full employment, which rest in turn on the prospect for a peacetime demand to replace the wartime demand. Necessarily, this substitute demand must combine domestic with foreign consumption. The critical question is the ratio. If the substitute demand is to be largely domestic, it will involve reliance on consumer subsidies and public works; for normal income distribution will not suffice. If the substitute demand is to be substantially in the foreign market, it will call for much lending to foreign countries, along with other measures to promote an expanding world economy. Only the lending process, it should be noted, can provide a *net* addition to consumer demand through foreign trade. Exports balanced by imports leave the consumption problem about where it was. Nevertheless, lending presupposes payment. Hence the final balancing of consumption with production is a domestic problem anyhow.

In the agricultural approach we have inconsistencies, which many farmers recognize. Farmers must have foreign trade, both as a guarantee of peace and as a basis for profitable farm production and marketing. American farmers will come out of the war with more production than they can sell at home. In the long run, however, foreign trade involves imports as well as exports; and though the United States often imports agricultural commodities liberally, of competitive as well as non-competitive kinds, unrestricted agricultural imports would be troublesome. Theoretically, an expanded farm export trade could be balanced with imported factory goods; but there the manufacturer objects. Another inconsistency exists in the agricultural approach. Farmers want freer world-trade relationships, but their price supports stand in the way. Price supports must have *protection*. Search is on for a compromise solution, but it may be a long search. Specifically, it looks for means to change price supports into income supports, so that commodities may flow freely in world markets at world prices. But no one has even hinted at a blanket formula.

ARTHUR P. CHEW

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Human Welfare in the TVA

FONTANA DAM, recently completed by the Tennessee Valley Authority, lies in the Great Smoky Mountains of North Carolina, on the upper reaches of the Little Tennessee River. The road to the dam climbs for two hours' steady driving from Knoxville, the last half of the distance through almost uninhabited, wild mountain country. When I made the trip, not so long ago, the automobile in which I was riding swung around a sharp corner, a mile or so before reaching the dam. Clinging to the mountainside in a small "cove" or clearing was an old-fashioned log cabin, of the kind used by the mountaineers of the region for the last two hundred years. Out in the back yard a young woman, dressed in a soiled and faded flour-sack print dress, was doing her laundry beside the well, from which she pulled the water with a bucket and a rope. A very dirty baby was rolling unhindered in the dusty yard a few feet away. The mother looked up wearily as we went by, brushing her hair out of her eyes with the back of her hand, too tired or too dispirited to answer a friendly wave. The tumble-down, unpainted cabin, with its screenless windows and doors, looked like a stage set for *Tobacco Road;* the whole place breathed squalor, neglect, weariness and ignorance.

Twenty minutes later, under the shadow of towering Fontana Dam, the fourth largest in the United States, we were inspecting the conditions in the construction camp. Here on a green hillside were rows of neat, white-painted cottages, screened against the flies, banked with flowers. Indoors, housewives in clean and cheery cottons were cooking on electric ranges, enjoying all the facilities of modern plumbing, washing their clothes on Mondays with electric washing machines. In the community library I saw rows of well worn books, the same ones, so far as I could judge, that were being read that month in the homes of Montclair, Oak Park and Burlingame. In the huge cafeteria, thousands of nourishing low-cost meals were served for those who did not wish, or were unable for any reason, to cook in their own houses. The cafeteria customers, both men and women, looked well dressed, prosperous, alert and cheerful—equaling in all these matters any crowd I have ever seen in an American city. The point, of course, is that many of them had come, a few months or years earlier, from mountain cabins which were the equivalent in most respects of the one we had passed on the road.

This impressive contrast is a fair example of what the coming of the TVA has meant to the half-million homes in that region. To be sure, only a small proportion of all the people of the Valley have actually worked for the TVA and still fewer have lived in the model communities which have been set up at the construction camps for the various projects, including more than twenty big dams and hydroelectric installations. Yet for nearly all the people of the Valley, the last few years have meant definite improvement in greater or less degree. In an earlier article, I have mentioned some of the concrete advantages accruing from the TVA. The per-capita income has increased, in about a decade, by more than 100 percent. At a time when retail sales were skyrocketing all over the country, the Valley saw an increase 50 per cent larger than that of the nation as a whole. Among the 30,000 privately operated farms which are being used in the demonstration program, increases in productivity and selling value of 300, 400 or 500 percent are not at all uncommon. But the story goes far beyond these strictly material things.

Books have come into the lives of thousands of persons in rural communities or isolated farmhouses in this region for the first time, in the past few years, because of the traveling lending libraries. These are of the familiar light-truck type; the card-holder borrows one or several volumes when the "bookmobile" comes around, and returns them and gets a fresh supply on the next trip.

The TVA, in coöperation with numerous other agencies, municipal, county, state or federal, has done a great deal to teach housewives, whether on farms or in towns and whether white or black, improved standards of housekeeping, sanitation, infant care and nutrition. In the cafeterias conducted by the TVA at its various projects, strenuous efforts are made to teach the workers and their families proper nutritional habits. In one cafeteria, for instance, each of the "basic seven" types of food was identified by a color, and the food counter was divided into similar sections each decorated with one of these colors. The customer was urged to take one food from each section and thus make sure of a balanced diet.

The Authority has done its best, throughout, to avoid paternalistic "welfare work." The effort has always been to show the people of the Valley the possibilities and then act only in response to their expressed desires. Among the voluntary activities have been several types of coöperatives, notably those under the Rural Electrification Administration of the federal government, created for the purpose of bringing electricity to areas not previously served. I have already mentioned the farmers' coöperatives to improve the soil.

For various reasons, the Tennessee Valley has always had a high incidence of tuberculosis, and public-health officials in the region are seeking to combat it, again through the coöperation of the TVA and other agencies, local, state and national. One useful device is a portable

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laboratory for taking X-ray photographs of the chest. A large truck is fitted up with the recently developed machinery for making X-ray photographs on motion-picture film, and these films are developed on the spot. A line of individuals can be passed before the X-ray camera with astonishing speed—so much so, that a single truck handles 15,000 persons per year. Those whose photographs show suspicious chest conditions are referred to the nearest public hospital for more careful diagnosis and for treatment, if indicated. This qualification is necessary because it has recently been discovered that in many cases, what looks like an active tubercular lesion in the lungs is in fact only a harmless fibrous condition. In spite of this fact, the mass use of X-ray photographs is the best technique ever developed for identification of early pulmonary tuberculosis. It is already saving many hundreds of lives in the Tennessee Valley, as eventually it will save thousands throughout the United States.

DAVID LILIENTHAL

With the end of the war, the Tennessee Valley seems likely to become one of the chief tourist areas of the country. It lies within an easy automobile journey from the homes of 100 million people, much of the Valley is scenically beautiful, and it possesses excellent hard-finished roads. The dams themselves are a spectacular attraction. In addition, the huge man-made lakes offer great inducements to fishermen, hunters and lovers of every type of aquatic sport. Even now, many a handsome cabin cruiser may be seen tied to a dock in what was, a few years ago, an inaccessible mountain cove. This tide of tourists will leave behind it millions of dollars annually in the pockets of the Valley natives who will cater to their wants. In addition, mingling with millions of strangers (the Valley would call them "foreigners") will break down what remnants of provincialism may have survived the coming of the radio, the movie and the automobile, the last made possible only by the recently built good roads.

Perhaps the most remarkable single exploit of the Authority is the virtual abolition of the malaria mosquito, *anopheles quadrimaculatus*. Many Americans do not realize that, taking the world as a whole, malaria is man's worst disease. At least a million people a year die of it, most of them in Asia and the Southwest Pacific; and millions more suffer for long periods of their lives with malaria-induced anemia, enlargement of the spleen and general weakness. While in the United States it has never been so bad as it is in Bengal, for example, where it kills 500,000 people a year, it has been an unmitigated curse. Thanks to the TVA, that curse has now been almost completely eliminated in the entire Valley, the annual malaria rate going down from 40 or 45 per thousand persons practically to zero. There are whole regions in which experts of the United States Bureau of Entomology have lately been unable, even after exhaustive research, to find any trace of the malaria mosquito, though a few years earlier there was a heavy infestation. TVA methods are now being copied, so far as is practicable, throughout the rest of the South and, indeed, all over the world.

This amazing success has not been accomplished by the use of any single technique, but a combination of all possible lines of attack. By a campaign of education, the people of the Valley have been taught to screen their houses against mosquitos, and if they were too poor to do this, it was done for them. *Anopheles* breeds along the shores of lakes and ponds, and its effective range of flight is not more than about a mile and a quarter. In infested areas, houses were moved back outside the danger zone, although farmers were permitted to continue to till the land in this zone, since the mosquitos do not bite in the daytime. Vegetation has been sprayed with various poisonous compounds including DDT, and some of this spraying has been done from airplanes, which can dust a large area in a short time. (Only 5 or 10 percent of DDT is employed, mixed with 90 or 95 percent of inert matter.) Since the mosquito breeds along the shore just at the level of the water, on the leaves and stalks of partially submerged vegetation, in some cases all such vegetation has been destroyed, going back up the bank for several yards.

The most effective device, however, has been one possible only in the Tennessee Valley and the very few places in other parts of the world where the water level is completely under human control. TVA biologists know from observation just when the malaria mosquito lays its eggs, and when the larvae emerge. The scientists watch the mosquito closely, and at the critical moment, just when the eggs have been laid, the sluice gates of the dams are opened, and the water level in the entire area, which may be several thousand square miles, is suddenly reduced a few inches. This leaves the eggs clinging to the vegetation but stranded in the open air, which few of the embryonic larvae can survive. Some days later, the gates are closed again, and the water level is raised until it is several inches higher than it was in the first place, thus drowning out the remaining eggs or larvae. Just to make sure, however, the biologists go on alternately furnishing the mosquitos too little water or too much for a fortnight or so, until they have given up the ghost.

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The only drawback to this treatment is the fact that the water in the Valley is extremely useful for hydroelectric purposes; when a lot of it is suddenly released through the sluice gates much potential electric power is wasted. The officials hope that before long the mosquito will have been eradicated so completely that juggling the water level may no longer be necessary.

No one can tour the Tennessee Valley, and see what has been accomplished, without a strong feeling that this is what should be done in all river valleys, everywhere. In the presence of the accomplished fact, the opposition of American conservatives to TVA "boondoggling" just makes no sense, any more than the attitude of those who first opposed the use of anesthesia, the steam engine or the germ theory of disease. It is notable that almost all the bitterest conservatives in the Valley are strongly in favor of what the Authority has done. It is simply too absurd to go on having floods, wasting soil, passing up possible hydroelectric power, leaving rivers unnavigable, when all these things can be avoided by an expenditure which, practically from the first, pays for itself both in tangible and intangible values.

At the same time, we must recognize that what has been done in the Tennessee Valley does not constitute, by itself, a way of life. The Authority has brought the Valley up much nearer to the general standard of living in the most prosperous and favored parts of the United States; but the welfare of the Valley and its inhabitants still depends upon the national welfare. Valley products can only be sold to Americans everywhere who have the money to buy them; tourists will not come to enjoy the beauties of the region if the blight of depression lies upon our whole country. The problems of full employment and prosperity cannot be solved on any regional basis. They must be faced and met nationally and indeed, internationally, if they are to be faced and met at all.

BRUCE BLIVEN

This is the third and last of a series of articles. – THE EDITORS

Hirohito's Possible Successor

One of the most baffling personalities to emerge among the statesmen of defeated Japan is Prince Chichibu, younger brother of Emperor Hirohito. Released last May after two years of "honorable detention," the opinion is widely held that he was interned for having used his influence with Hirohito to keep Japan out of the war with the United States, and later had urged that Japan confine her conquests to Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, the Philippines and Burma. But another school of thought believes that Chichibu was detained not by the army, but by the Imperial Household, for meddling in politics and for his close ties with the army extremists. Since he has been mentioned as a possible successor to Hirohito or as regent to the Crown Prince, his political views become important. What sort of man is Chichibu?

The Prince's liberal reputation stems from his unorthodox public behavior and from certain outstanding events in his life. In 1925 he left his homeland to study at Oxford. While this may be interpreted merely as a reflection of the times—for the decade of the 1920's was Japan's high tide of liberalism—still, for a prince of the blood to leave his home for a two-year sojourn in England was in itself a precedent-shattering event. In 1928 he again startled Japanese court circles with his unorthodoxy. He married a "commoner." His wife was Setsuko Matsudaira, the American-educated daughter of the then Ambassador to the United States.

Chichibu has none of the formal stiffness or aloofness that his brother Hirohito is forced to assume because of his position as Emperor. Instead, he is informal and even likable, and he possesses the personal éclat of the former Prince of Wales, to whom he has often been likened. Chichibu has no qualms about talking and even drinking with fellow army officers—all commoners—and is said to dislike personal guards. He has been known to steal away from his official residence for long strolls alone or with his wife. In Canada, on his way to London to attend the coronation ceremony of King George VI, Chichibu startled his retinue by alighting from the train and shaking hands with the lowly resident Japanese who had come to see him pass through.

But what of the rumor, equally persistent and equally strong, that the Prince is no peace-loving liberal but the ambitious figurehead of a clique of die-hard fascist army officers? While this contention has been difficult to substantiate because of the very nature of Japanese behind-the-scene politics and strict laws forbidding publication of certain news concerning the royal house, fairly reliable deductions can be made from existing records.

Chichibu's military career appears routine at first glance, but actually his promotions have been very slow, compared with those of other royal princes and with the army promotion system itself. Whereas the regulations stipulate two years as the minimum number for service in grade as a first lieutenant, it took Chichibu four years and ten months to earn his captaincy. Again, he remained a captain for five years and six months, although the rule requires but four years. His last promotion, to the rank of major general from that of

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colonel, was even slower, having taken five years and five months, three years longer than is usual. Furthermore, Japan, like most other countries, has stepped up wartime promotions, cutting in half the minimum service in grade. In spite of this, Chichibu remained a colonel for the long period mentioned. Compare his record with that of Prince Kaya, a distant blood relation of the Emperor and only two years Chichibu's senior. Kaya is already a full general. It took him but three years to win his last promotion, and less than two to become a lieutenant general.

Chichibu's slow promotion is a definite indication that he was discredited by certain elements in the army —but what elements and for what reasons? To determine this, let us look at Chichibu's military record against the background of accompanying events.

It is highly significant that Chichibu spent most of his army career in the Azabu Third Infantry Regiment, the very regiment which revolted against the Emperor on February 26, 1936, and caused the greatest internal commotion Japan has known in recent times. True, Chichibu was not with the Third Infantry at the time it revolted: he had been transferred to Hirosaki, northernmost city of Japan, on August 1, 1935. To say that the transfer had no connection with the revolt is to ignore completely the disturbing signs of the times. Only twelve days after his transfer, Major General Nagata, Director of the Military Affairs Bureau, was murdered in his office by a junior officer, Lieutenant Colonel Aizawa. Nagata was a "moderate" and a member of the so-called Controllist Group, headed by General Hayashi, General Terauchi and other old-line professional generals. Aizawa, on the other hand, belonged to the Imperial Way Group, composed of super-patriots such as General Araki and General Mazaki.

It was in anticipation of an impending clash between these two factions that Chichibu had been removed to Hirosaki. When this bitter strife finally came to a head on February 26, 1936, with the revolt of the Third Infantry Regiment, the role of Chichibu in the anti-moderate movement of the super-patriot group began to take more definite shape. The rebels assassinated high government officials (moderates) such as Korekiyo Takahashi, the Finance Minister, Makoto Saito, Lord Keeper of the Imperial Seal, and Lieutenant General Jotaro Watanabe, Inspector General of Military Training. Watanabe had earlier replaced Mazaki, one of the moving spirits behind the super-patriot movement, as Inspector General of Military Training. Admiral Kantaro Suzuki, then Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor, was seriously wounded.

Chichibu's hand in the incident became apparent when on February 28, two days after the revolt, the newspapers throughout the land reported on their front pages that the Prince and General Araki had been received in audience by the Emperor to discuss the settlement of the serious situation. It was not only unusual but highly suspicious for a Prince, the brother of Japan's God-Emperor and supposedly above politics, to appear in the public limelight in the role of a mediator, especially in such strange company as General Araki. Chichibu, furthermore, was a battalion commander in a remote northern city. He was not even a member of the Supreme Military Council, the highest consultative body on military matters. Positions on this council are open only to lieutenant generals or higher—Chichibu was a mere major at that time, and even today would not qualify, for he is only a major general. At any rate, Chichibu had no business being in the capital at the time. But to close observers, the news confirmed what had long been suspected—that Chichibu was the spiritual leader of the Araki-Mazaki faction which had instigated the revolt. Roman Lavalle, former Argentine consul to Japan and now a naturalized American, says that Chichibu's connections with Araki date back to 1931, when he and a faction of the Privy Council had acted as spiritual leaders of General Araki's Saga group which had inspired the Manchurian Incident.

Leaflets issued during the 1936 revolt by the rebels leave little room for doubt that Chichibu was affiliated with them. These leaflets urged the troops to fight to the finish and assured them that Chichibu and Araki would not change horses in the middle of the stream. Many of the pamphlets were signed by officers of the Third Infantry, Chichibu's old regiment.

Were the rebels planning to banish Hirohito to Kyoto and put up Chichibu as their new Emperor? This was no mere conjecture at the time, especially as it was generally believed that the Emperor himself was held in the palace incommunicado. If Chichibu was the alleged spiritual leader of this group, his earlier liberal reputation becomes completely untenable. Thus it is that close observers have attributed the Prince's recent detention to pro-military rather than anti-war activities.

Finally, one other persistent rumor has been making the rounds in Japan since the Manchurian Incident. This was an attempt to explain the sudden disappearance of Baron Kijuro Shidehara, the fearless advocate of a conciliatory policy toward China and Foreign Minister at the time of the Manchurian Incident. Shidehara, though never officially reported as dead, has vanished completely from public life. It is interesting that his eclipse has been attributed to Prince Chichibu. The Prince, according to the rumor, personally shot and wounded Shidehara. If Chichibu did make an attempt on Shidehara's life, it is not difficult to explain the latter's disappearance from the political scene, for it goes without saying that to be the object of an intended assassination by a member of the imperial family is tantamount to banishment from politics.

No doubt when the Allied occupation of Japan is completed and the war criminals are brought to trial, Prince Chichibu's political machinations will be exposed.

MASTER SERGEANT JAMES S. ODA

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How the Bomb Came to Be

THE CONTROLLED RELEASE of atomic energy is not only the most spectacular but also the most revolutionary achievement in the history of science. Within the short span of five years a handful of scientists, standing on the shoulders of thousands of others who had been probing the heart of the atom for fifty years, uncorked a torrent of concentrated energy that can improve the world immeasurably or blot it out completely.

This achievement is another example of the oneness of pure and applied science. Out of the purely theoretical investigations relating to the composition of the sun, the nature of radiation and the structure of the atom came remarkable inventions such as the photoelectric cell, or magic eye, television and the electron microscope. Men who never dreamed of having a hand in the construction of a practical gadget were supplying theoretical concepts and mathematical equations which eventually made possible the most devilish weapon ever cooked up by man.

Science is an international activity. The widespread dissemination of the findings of researchers in hundreds of laboratories throughout the world makes possible the coöperation of all peoples in the hunt for new principles and new machines. Men and women from almost every corner of the earth played their parts in the drama of atomic energy. Only a very few of these actors were aware that, near the close of the drama, there would emerge an atomic bomb. William Roentgen, the German who discovered X-rays in 1895, could not have dreamed of it. The Frenchman, Henry Becquerel, who noticed the effect of the uranium ore, pitchblende, on a photographic plate in a darkroom, could not have guessed it. The Polish-born scientist, Marie Curie, caught a glimpse inside the spontaneously disintegrating world of the radium atom, but could not foresee the harnessing of subatomic energy. J. J. Thomson of England and Ernest Rutherford of New Zealand, who gave us the electron and the proton, considered controlled atomic energy both too expensive and too far distant.

Others working in the field of nuclear physics included Niels Bohr, a Dane, Erwin Schroedinger, an Austrian, George Hevesy, a Hungarian, Peter Kapitza and D. Skobelzyn of the Soviet Union, Chandrasekhara Raman of India, and several Japanese scientists, including one who as early as 1934 foreshadowed the presence of a new nuclear unit, the mesotron, which was later discovered by Caltech's Carl D. Anderson, son of a Swedish immigrant. Perhaps the greatest single contributor to the final construction of the atomic bomb was the Italian scientist, Enrico Fermi, who in 1938 had been compelled to leave Fascist Italy. It was Fermi who in January, 1939, saw in the neutron, discovered by the Englishman Chadwick, the key to the release of limitless energy from inside the core of the atom. He reasoned that the splitting or fission of the uranium atom is caused by a neutron which could be slowed down by such hurdles as paraffin, heavy water or graphite. Furthermore, during the fission of the uranium atom, other neutrons would be thrown out of the uranium nucleus. These emitted neutrons could, in turn, disrupt neighboring uranium atoms, thus producing what is called a *chain reaction*. The whole mass of uranium could explode like a barrel of firecrackers, a single pound of uranium producing the same explosive effect as 20,000 tons of TNT.

In February, 1939, Fermi tested out his hunch with a microscopic quantity of pure uranium-235, and found that it was good. The whole world heard of it, and feverish activity in many laboratories immediately followed. Among those intensely interested was the Nazi High Command, which saw the possibilities of manufacturing a super-explosive on the basis of the concentrated energy locked up in the heart of the atom's nucleus. Hitler began calling in his Aryan scientists, and set them to work on uranium even as he rattled his sword more menacingly over Europe. It was somewhat different here in the United States. "American-born nuclear physicists," wrote Dr. H. D. Smyth in the official Army Report on the Atomic Bomb, released on August 12, 1945, "were so unaccustomed to the idea of using their science for military purposes that they hardly realized what needed to be done. Consequently, the early efforts both at restricting publication and getting government support were stimulated largely by a small group of foreign-born scientists in this country." As early as March, 1939, Fermi suggested to Navy officials the possibility of producing terrific explosions with the aid of neutrons. The Navy showed interest, and, later, President Roosevelt, after reading a letter from Einstein, appointed an Advisory Committee on Uranium. Almost two years before the entry of the United States into the war the first appropriation, $6,000, was made for experiments with uranium. In June, 1940, the Uranium Committee became a subcommittee of the National Defense Research Committee (NDRC).

Harold C. Urey and George B. Pegram of Columbia University were sent abroad to confer with British scientists working on the same problem. Sir James Chadwick and others in England were terribly worried. Time was running out, they feared. They had learned

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that a large section of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute in Berlin had been set aside for research on uranium. "Initially many scientists," wrote Smyth, "could and did hope that some principle would emerge which would prove that atomic bombs were inherently impossible." Urey, however, brought back a sense of great urgency, and only a month before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the NDRC reported that "a fission bomb of superlatively destructive power results from bringing quickly together a sufficient mass of U-235. . . . If all possible effort is spent on the program, one might expect fission bombs to be available in significant quantities *within three or four years.*" Things now began to move fast. The NDRC approved sixteen projects connected with the atomic bomb. The Japs launched their sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, and ten days later the NDRC was reorganized under the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), with Vannevar Bush at its head. The new policy was to be an all-out effort for an atomic bomb. Eight months later the "Manhattan District" project was officially established to construct atomic bombs.

Long before the establishment of this project, many problems had been assigned to different research groups. The most crucial one was the actual production of a chain reaction on a large scale. This was assigned to a research team at the University of Chicago under the direction of Fermi and A. H. Compton.

A huge doorknob-shaped pile containing 12,400 pounds of specially purified graphite bricks in which were imbedded lumps of uranium oxide and pure uranium in a cubic lattice was set up by Fermi on the floor of the squash court underneath Stagg Field of the University of Chicago. It was the most destructive contraption ever designed by the brain of man.

Fermi had suggested the use of graphite as a moderator, that is, to slow down the neutrons and thus ensure a greater number of captured neutrons which would produce fission. The chain reaction was to be started by bombarding U-235 with neutrons. Another chain reaction was to be initiated in the pile by bombarding U-238 with neutrons. Preliminary research by Abelson and McMillan at the University of California had, about a year earlier, created a new element, plutonium (Pu), by neutron bombardment of pure U-238 (after first producing another man-made element, neptunium—Np—which is extremely unstable and short-lived). Plutonium (element 94), however, is fairly stable, and when bombarded with neutrons, produces other neutrons which disrupt other atoms of plutonium. Plutonium atoms (mass 239) also shoot out helium nuclei (mass 4) and change into U-235, which, in turn, undergoes a chain reaction. The chain reactions may be represented as:

(1) U-235 + neutron ⇒ atomic energy + fission products + neutrons

(2) U-238 + neutron ⇒ Np ⇒ Pu + neutrons + atomic energy

(3) Pu ⇒ helium + U-235

Working with this pile was a most dangerous business. Death and destruction threatened at every move. A chain reaction might get out of control and produce a super-explosion that could blast the researchers into kingdom come. And there were tens of thousands of other people who stood in imminent danger of being annihilated by atomic energy. The city of Chicago might have been blown to bits one fine morning had not the men at the pile taken every conceivable precaution—and been lucky, too. It had been anticipated that the nuclear reaction would start from spontaneous fission or other source (such as bombardment from a wandering cosmic ray) just as soon as the pile reached a certain size. This critical size had been calculated from all the available data, and it turned out that an error had been made, for the approach to critical size was later found to occur at an *earlier stage of assembly than had been anticipated*. However, strips of cadmium steel alloy had been placed in various sections of the pile in retard position just to make sure. "This was fortunate," wrote Dr. Smyth, and these three words must remain one of the classic understatements in the long history of the hazards of scientific discovery.

If the men escaped sudden destruction they might still succumb to a slow, painful death caused by the penetrating rays and poisonous radioactive particles emitted during the fission. The men were working in a not too familiar field. To prevent an explosion, movable strips of cadmium steel were introduced into the pile to absorb stray neutrons. To safeguard themselves against the hazards of penetrating radiation and poisoning, the whole apparatus was shielded very carefully by thick walls of absorbent material. No one dared come within reach of the pile, and manipulations had to be performed by remote control.

The Chicago group performed a job that came close to being a miracle. December 2, 1942, marked the first time in history that human beings had initiated a self-maintaining nuclear chain reaction. Only a handful of men knew that on this winter morning mankind had turned another corner.

Much of the preliminary work had now been completed by hundreds of scientists in dozens of laboratories around the country. More than 30 volumes of reports had been written. It was decided to go into large-scale production of both U-235 and plutonium for the making of atomic bombs. A bold step had to be taken. Instead of setting up a small pilot plant to test final manufacturing procedures, it was necessary to jump at once into large-scale production. "In peacetime," wrote Smyth, "no engineer or scientist in his right mind would consider making such a magnification in a single step." But there was

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no alternative. The Nazis were known to be working on an atomic bomb. At a large hydroelectric plant in Rjukan, Norway, they were already producing several hundred liters of "heavy water" to be used in slowing down neutrons. This was considered such a threat to us that a daring raid by members of the Norwegian underground blew it up. It was rebuilt, and British bombers blasted it to pieces a second time. The German High Command tried to get information about our own atomic-bomb program. At least five German spies were sent to the United States for this purpose. They were all intercepted, and American alertness prevented any of our secrets being revealed or any sabotage being committed in our uranium plants.

For the colossal task of producing U-235 and plutonium, a 1.5-million-kilowatt-hour plant was required as well as a huge source of pure, cold water to absorb the heat produced by the piles during atomic fission. It was estimated that enough intake water was needed to supply a large city. The site selected, therefore, was on the Columbia River near the Grand Coulee Dam. Here in an isolated region near Pasco, Washington, the Hanford Engineer Works was erected in record time. Sixty thousand workers and their families, sworn to the strictest secrecy, poured into the area, and out of a barren wasteland a city which became the fourth largest in the state sprang up almost overnight—a city whose name never even appeared on a map.

The plant consisted of many buildings. In some, mountains of uranium ore were chemically treated to extract its uranium, which was then purified. In others the pure uranium was separated into its three isotopes by an electromagnetic method developed by Ernest O. Lawrence at the University of California. This consisted of shooting electrified particles of uranium salts between the poles of a powerful electromagnet in a cyclotron—the atom-smashing machine invented by Lawrence in 1932. Particles of the lighter isotopes, being bent less than those of the heavier isotopes, were thus separated and trapped. In other buildings, the diffusion method of separating isotopes was employed to get pure U-235. This method had been developed by Urey at Columbia University and consisted of passing gaseous uranium compounds through very fine filters. The lighter vapor passed through the filters faster than the heavier vapor, and thus by a long and continuous process a complete separation of U-235 from the other isotopes of uranium was effected. Other buildings consisted of hermetically sealed rooms surrounded by thick walls of concrete, steel and other absorbent materials. Several of these cells, two-thirds buried in the ground, formed a continuous structure, 100 feet long, called a canyon. Here the loading and unloading of the piles, the transfer of uranium slugs and other materials from one cell into another had to be done by remote control because of the hazards to health caused by the radioactive products of fission that included not only neutrons, penetrating radiations similar to X-rays, but also at least thirty elements such as radioactive iodine and xenon. The chain reactions in the three piles, situated several miles apart, were controlled by numerous strips of cadmium steel. The insertion of a single strip of cadmium was sufficient to stop the fission. As a further precaution, two safety rods and one automatic rod were also introduced. The latter was placed in the center of the pile and operated by two electric motors which responded to an ionizing chamber. When a dangerously high number of neutrons were escaping, the gas in the ionizing chamber would become highly electrified. This would automatically set the motor operating to introduce a cadmium strip. By the summer of 1945 all three piles were heating the Columbia River. Another large plant, the Clinton, was built early in 1943 by duPont at Oak Ridge, near Knoxville, Tennessee.

The health of the scientists, engineers and other workers was constantly watched. The white-blood-corpuscle count was used as the main criterion as to whether a person was suffering from overexposure to radiation. Men carried small, fountain-pen-shaped electroscopes in their pockets to indicate the extent of exposure to dangerous fission products. Later a small piece of film was placed in the back of every worker's identification badge. The film was periodically developed for signs of blackening indicating exposure to radiation. Contamination of laboratory furniture and equipment by alpha rays was charted by another specially constructed instrument, euphemistically called Pluto, god of the underworld. Geiger counters were used to check contamination of laboratory coats, before and after laundering. No person whose clothes, hair or skin was contaminated by even traces of radioactive material could get by the exit gates of certain laboratories without being detected, for concealed in these gates were instruments which sounded an alarm. The water which left the factories was constantly analyzed for radioactive material, and the dust of the air was checked by another instrument, called "Sneezy." Factory stacks were built high enough to ensure adequate dispersion of gases, dust and vapors.

Even before the mammoth plants at Hanford and Clinton had been designed, an atomic-bomb laboratory was erected on an isolated mesa near Los Alamos, New Mexico. Here, almost completely hidden from the rest of the world for safety and security reasons, J. Robert Oppenheimer, theoretical physicist of the University of California, was put in charge of what soon became the best equipped physics lab-

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oratory in the world. This was the clearing house of our best brains in atomic physics. The men who worked at Los Alamos or were consulted by Oppenheimer included 10 American Nobel Prize winners—Anderson, Compton, Davisson, Einstein, Langmuir, Lawrence, Millikan, Rabi, Stern and Urey. Here, too, Bohr, Chadwick, Fermi and several other refugee scientists aided in the final problem of constructing an atomic bomb.

It had been found that because of the capture of some neutrons by uranium that did not result in fission, and because also of the escape of many neutrons at the surface, a chain reaction would not complete itself unless the fissionable material reached a certain minimum size known as the critical size. To prevent premature detonation of the bomb, therefore, several pieces instead of a single lump of U-235 and plutonium were used. The pieces could be brought together suddenly to form a large mass of critical size by shooting one fragment from a gun as a projectile against another piece as target. When the pieces met to form one single piece of critical size, the whole mass would explode in a split second.

That the men in the mesa laboratory did their job well the world learned on August 6, 1945, when the bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima helped mark the end of World War II, and the beginning of the age of atomic energy. Never before in the history of man has such a colossal task been completed in so short a time. A heritage of scientific brains unsurpassed in the annals of theoretical science, a reservoir of brilliant engineering and industrial talent, a life-and-death situation that compelled planned, coördinated and accelerated action, and finally, an expenditure of $2 billion (more money than had ever before been spent on research in pure science in this country), made this epochal achievement possible.

There is no reason in the world why similar triumphs cannot be repeated in peacetime in the battle against cancer, polio, the insanities, the chronic ailments of middle and old age, and the crushing poverty of millions throughout the world. If the miracle of Manhattan District has not taught us a lesson, we will continue to waste our potential powers, and retard the day when pain and poverty must be banished from the peoples of the earth. BERNARD JAFFE

Low-End Clothing

A DESCRIPTION of the clothing shortage—conceivably to be subtitled Government in Inaction—would not be news. Every consumer knows by this time about the rack bereft of housedresses, the shorts in size 28 only, the child's playsuit that disintegrates after one washing. Every consumer ought to know that unless existing controls are kept—and in fact strengthened—the situation is not headed for quick recovery.

To those who murmur about having won the war but lost their shirts, the statistics behind the empty shelves offer little reassurance. Between May, 1943, and July, 1945—a period during which food prices dropped one percent and rent stayed the same—clothing prices rose about 14 percent, thus constituting a serious threat to the anti-inflation program. Furthermore, this rise is more drastic than it seems, for Bureau of Labor Statistics figures don't adequately measure quality deterioration. Neither do they take into account the plight of a man who, unable to find a regular shirt with sleeves and tail, must pay twice as much for a sport shirt without them, or of the woman who needs a denim coverall, but must invest in rayon slacks, a blouse and a sweater. The index, in short, omits the most important part of the story, which is that five-sixths of the rise in clothing prices is due to the disappearance of low-cost goods.

Undeniably, the textile supply presented difficulties. Textile production, up from 10.2 billion linear yards in 1939 to 13.4 billion in 1942, was down to an estimated 11.4 billion in 1945. This had to take care of military needs, plus increased industrial needs, plus a civilian clothing bill grown from $5.8 billion in 1939 to $11.4 billion in 1944. Consumers repeatedly declared, however, that a limited wartime supply was all the more reason for a controlled wartime production. Specifically, they pointed to stores full of elaborate bedspreads, voluminous evening gowns and cotton-stuffed toys at a time when it was almost impossible to find cheap underwear or a boy's suit or a yard of cotton piece-goods.

To construct a background for this whodunit, it is necessary first to examine an industry in which all the pressures are toward high-priced clothes. These pressures start with the mills, whose fattest profits are made on expensive cloth for the luxury trade. They go on to the converter who can get higher prices on which to compute his mark-up (or could until the end of 1944, when the OPA at last moved to make overfinishing less profitable) by adding a bird or a flower to the unfinished material. Thus, for the first three years of war, you had many converters giving a 30-cent-per-yard finish to a 30-cent-per-yard cloth, rather than a 12-cent finish to a 25-cent-per-yard cloth. The pressures continue to the manufacturer who can profitably evade a ceiling on a $6.50 line by adding a flounce at the

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collar and two buttons on each sleeve and moving into a $7.50 line. They finally hit the retailer who, with demand inexhaustible, can do as well with two $25 garments as with ten $5 ones.

On the theory that business in wartime should be disturbed as little as possible, measures taken against these pressures were in general mild. In May, 1942, the OPA issued the General Maximum Price Regulation, which, though adequate for some items, was only an emergency stop-gap in clothing. In a field where a spring line shifts from prints to stripes at the drop of a *Harper's Bazaar*, it was almost impossible to price new items on the basis of "similar" or "comparable" ones. The GMPR was, therefore, modified by a host of regulations, many of them too loose-jointed to be effective and some of them inviting violations which an overworked enforcement staff could not hope to cover. As clothing costs kept rising, consumers demanded two things: encouragement of low-priced rather than high-priced goods by cutting down profit margins of the latter; and setting of more specific dollars-and-cents ceilings tied to quality specifications.

To the first demand, the OPA replied that by upsetting substantially the margin differential in favor of high-priced as against low-priced lines, it would have been violating the "customary-business-practices" provision of the Emergency Price Control Act. To the second, it pointed to the headaches, in a market where a dress may be made of print cloth, broadcloth, lawn, poplin, chambray, gingham, seersucker, dimity or voile, of setting a price one month for an item that might not be made the next. Only the WPB, it maintained, had the authority to standardize production.

As for the WPB, what it offered was even skimpier and less suited to the occasion. At a time when only utility styles were permitted in England, and when the incomes of millions of families here remained at their usual low, WPB officials saw nothing illogical in the spectacle of the $50 dress nosing out the $2.98 one. With its industry bureaus run by and generally for industry representatives, and its mind on a wartime program in which civilian needs were presumably irrelevant, the WPB felt obliged to channel only very limited supplies into essential garments—mostly work clothes and infants' and children's wear. Its first attempt, in fact, at any wholehearted remedy was in February, 1945, when it issued a low-end-clothing program jointly with the OPA.

The basis for the program has been the WPB's order M-388, which requires sellers of finished products—cotton, rayon and wool—to reserve a proportion for manufacturers of essential low and medium-priced garments. By August 1, about 75 percent of the fabric available for civilian use was being channeled through this order. To accompany this, the OPA issued two pricing orders. One requires garment-manufacturers and rayon and wool mills to set price lines that average no higher than 1943 averages. The second established dollars-and-cents prices for all cotton garments for which material was provided by M-388 and two previous WPB orders. Finally, to make sure that price reductions obtained under other actions got across at retail, the OPA issued MPR-580, under which the country's 300,000 retailers of textiles, apparel, clothing accessories and house furnishings set their ceilings from fixed mark-ups on regulation pricing charts.

The program was welcome news to consumers, though they pointed out that set-asides might be greater, cut-off points lower and quality specifications included. From where the WPB official was sitting, however, it was hard to hear consumers for the blast from industry. The Cotton Textile Institute, ignoring profits that had climbed from a $28-million average in 1936-39 to an estimated $325 million for 1945, said the OPA was imposing a "straitjacket on profits." Garment manufacturers, ignoring national income figures, said "the attempt to force merchandise into low-end brackets would cause surplus, unwanted goods."

The low-end-clothing program rode out the opposition till last July. Then newspapers began to print hints of its impending revocation, which, like the hints of someone's impending resignation, can be the kiss of death. Manufacturers were already planning for a free market in which they could make plenty of the little $75 dresses that everyone really wanted. The WPB agreed that controls should come off. And though the OPA said grimly that controls had better stay or else, it looked for a while as if the skids were under a good many families' winter wardrobes.

At this point President Truman, two days back from Potsdam, told WPB Chairman Krug that stabilization was essential—and low-end items essential to stabilization. His order saved the day for the $2 shirt and the $5 dress. Though the WPB, one week after Japan quit, announced that M-388 was out on October 1, the substitute program, on the whole, is not unfavorable. For while it reduces the number of garments on the essential list, it also lowers the cut-off points under which manufacturers of these garments obtain priorities.

How long the Administration will stay firm is another question—and an important one to the average family, which spends 13 cents of every dollar of income on clothes. The WPB is speculating loudly about increased supplies: the military has cut back from about 25 percent of total cotton output in the third quarter of this year to about 5 percent in the fourth, and in wool from about 50 percent to almost nothing. But clothing experts, pointing to pent-up demand, plus the time it takes till the wool on an Army supply sheet becomes your tweed topcoat, say the program should stay put at least through 1945. American households, their patches and patience worn thin, can't take a further rise in clothing costs today. POTOMACUS

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The British Schools Stand Pat

TO AN ENGLISH educator, the words "Progressive Education" do not mean quite the same thing as they do to an American. In England there are people who think themselves progressive merely because they consider that teachers ought to make more use of films, or because they have faith in co-education, or because they feel that science should play an important part in the curriculum.

For my part, I tend to use the words in a narrower and perhaps more American sense to denote attempts to set up a school environment and atmosphere explicitly and avowedly arranged to foster the vigorous growth of democratic sentiments. It is true, of course, that the heads of all English schools constantly assert that they do pursue democratic ideals and it must be admitted that everywhere much lip-service is paid to these ideals. Nevertheless, it is only rarely that they affect the organization and practice of a whole school in the way they do, say, at Dartington Hall, Bedales or Abbotsholme. Men and women like Bill Curry, Dora Russell and A. S. Neill really do try to give their pupils as much freedom as possible and a certain amount of privacy; they do not force them to go into class absolutely against their will; they even allow them to swear and smoke if they feel they must. Obviously the faith of such educators in freedom and individuality has a quality different from that of more timid or orthodox colleagues.

It is enlightening and amusing to find out what these latter think about schools of the new kind. The remarkable thing is that by asking them one often gets indications of their political views, which turn out more trustworthy than those revealed by more direct inquiry. Opinions on educational matters form a very reliable index of social attitudes. The pity is that the test can be applied but seldom. The public at large has never heard of progressive schools; teachers in elementary schools are so exhausted by having to deal with classes of 50 or 60 children crowded into ugly and ill equipped rooms that they have neither the time nor the inclination to consider what they could do under more favorable circumstances; teachers in selective secondary schools are so busy coaching their pupils for examinations that they can spare but a faint shrug or sneer for cranks who pay no attention to exams. In fact, one can test only headmasters, inspectors and professional educators.

In the meantime, the professors do all that can reasonably be expected of them. They allow, and even encourage, students to pay short visits to unorthodox establishments, though it is significant that not one college or university has established close links with what should be regarded as educational laboratories doing remarkably interesting work. When an approach was made, a few years ago, which might have resulted in setting up such a connection, the local inspectors of the Ministry of Education exerted their influence to prevent it. They expressed the view that students would learn nothing useful from a school where conditions were so different from those in ordinary classrooms. It must be remembered that school inspectors in Britain are nearly all chosen from the public schools—expensive private schools—and have had no experience in the state system. For the most part, they accept as good the educational traditions of the old order.

Ordinary headmasters—especially headmasters of public schools—largely determine the general outlook, and their hostility explains why the example of the progressives has had so little effect. These headmasters, of course, do not openly and freely express their views in books or in the educational press. They do not argue out the case on intellectual grounds, dealing with the philosophical, social and psychological issues raised. That, after all, is never the best method of defending vested interests. It is more profitable and effective to ignore or deny the existence of challenges. In addition, of course, one can invent stories and attempt to smother the opposition in a fog of innuendo and ribaldry mixed with accusations of irreverence, irreligiosity and unsoundness.

It is well known that one of the chief aims of the traditional English public school is character training. As usually interpreted, this means simply developing a rather blind loyalty to the code of conduct characteristic of the English upper classes—a code which undoubtedly has in it much that is excellent as well as much that is less desirable. This ideal is, in many ways, directly opposed to that which inspires progressive educators who set themselves to foster individuality, who believe that children should be allowed to develop in their own way and think that they, too, have a right to happiness.

Though one would expect that the progressives would receive support and encouragement from those whose politics are far left of center, this is by no means the case. A few months ago, I suggested to the committee of the most advanced educational society in this country an inquiry into progressive schools. To my surprise—I confess my surprise with shame: I ought to have known better—I was at once set upon by persons whose political sympathies with the extreme Left were well known to me. Did I wish to advertise schools patronized by the financially privileged? Did I mean to suggest that progressive and adventurous work was not being done in schools maintained by the Public Authority? I am sure that many persons will be disturbed, as I am, about the chance of maintaining and extending freedom when those who should be her champions see salvation only in rigorous and rather authoritarian organization.

JOSEPH A. LAUWERYS

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Washington Notes

Congress Sharpens the Ax

THE REASONS for the congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster are primarily political. That fundamental fact should be kept in mind during the next few months of investigation. There are, to be sure, many honest people who believe that further light should be thrown upon the international developments and military and naval derelictions leading up to December 7, 1941. There is no reason, in fact, why the whole truth should not be made public. But the chief impetus for the congressional investigation came from the old isolationists and Roosevelt-haters—from people who were never reconciled to the inevitability and necessity of American intervention and who still look upon Roosevelt as the arch criminal.

The Administration realized that an investigation by Congress was inevitable, although it did not want one—particularly a political one—at this time. So Senator Barkley, the Democratic leader, took the ball away from the Republicans and offered the resolution which will make the investigation possible.

In their attempt to smear the names of Roosevelt and Hull, the Republicans have two other things in view. They want to win the congressional elections in 1946 and the presidential election in 1948. They will attempt to show that colossal mistakes and blunders were made by the Democratic Administration—and that it is time for a change! The other objective is to blacken the name of Roosevelt and all he stood for—so that the country can be rid of silly New Deal schemes to remake the world.

The reaction to President Truman's message to Congress was extremely significant and disheartening. The old-guard Republicans denounced it as just more of the same old New Deal. They said it sounded like Roosevelt. They said it showed that Truman is moving to the Left.

What they meant to say, I think, was that the honeymoon is over, and that they must look to the 1946 elections. The President is still immensely popular throughout the country, and the GOP doesn't like it. It is time to take off the wraps and let him have a few on the chin.

When Mr. Truman first entered the White House, many Republicans and many members of the NAM hailed him as the new Moses to lead them to the promised land. They said he was different. They said he was going to show the British and the Russians that they could not rule America any longer. They said the New Deal was ended.

Now they realize that, as usual, they were stupid. They know now that they made a serious tactical blunder in hailing the new President as different from the old President. To win an election, the Republicans now want to show that he is just another New Deal politician.

I am confident that the rash of criticism directed at the President's message was planned in advance. The party leaders realized that they had to change their tune. From now on, Congress will be almost as rough with Truman as it was with Roosevelt. It is tragic to see Congress already giving proof that it will play politics with reconversion and with the country's economic future.

The high hopes that developed with the first major appointments by Secretary of State Byrnes were somewhat cooled last week with the appointments of Donald S. Russell and William Benton as Assistant Secretaries of State.

Russell, who is to succeed Dean Acheson, elevated from Assistant Secretary to Undersecretary, is a highly competent lawyer, but a man who has yet to distinguish himself in the public service. He is young, aggressive and distinctly a Byrnes man. He was once a member of the Byrnes law firm in Spartanburg, South Carolina, and was a member of the Byrnes team in the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion. Only time will tell what kind of State Department official he will make.

Benton is to succeed Archibald MacLeish in charge of public and cultural relations. He has a colorful career behind him as advertising man and administrator, but he is associated with the intellectual isolationists at the University of Chicago and is a Hutchins man. That should have been enough to keep him out of the State Department. Certainly he is a strange choice to succeed MacLeish, whose belief in international coöperation has been proved.

One of the big inside debates in Washington concerns the future of the Office of Strategic Services. During the war, under the direction of Major General William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan, the OSS operated under the Joint Chiefs of Staff as an intelligence organization. It gathered voluminous information of all sorts about all countries in which the Army or Navy had any interest. It conducted ordinary spy activities and organized propaganda campaigns. Some of its work was of a very high order; some of it was ridiculed as amateurish. Donovan was strongly criticized for loading it down with his Wall Street associates.

But the question now is, Shall the United States maintain an over-all international intelligence agency responsible to the President? General Donovan has recommended the abolition of the OSS, but he is strong for the establishment of a permanent organization designed to keep top administrative officials advised on the economic, political and military developments abroad. He does not think that it should be permitted to have any police functions or any operating power inside the United States.

The President has not yet been willing to say what he thinks of the idea. This is a serious question which should be widely debated in and out of Congress. In view of our very direct concern with world affairs, should we not know exactly what is happening all over the world? the apologists for the OSS ask. The critics ask how how it would be possible to keep the OSS completely outside the United States in its activities and, furthermore, whether a zealous intelligence organization might not decide that it is necessary, in order to know what is happening abroad, to know what a lot of citizens are doing at home.

General Donovan has operated behind closed doors, and has flatly refused to tell the public what he has been doing. The public has a right, now that the war is over, to a great deal more information about the OSS, and particularly about its future, than it has received.

Washington T. R. B.

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The Bandwagon

The government has obtained Allied permission to disarm Japanese troops in the homeland. For the first time in modern history, victorious powers are on a defeated country's soil and stand by while a defeated nation disarms its own soldiers and makes its own records of guns and equipment collected for the victors. – *Robert P. Martin in the New York* Post.

One of his [Woodruff's] old boyhood companions is the Reverend R. G. Gresham, pastor of the Baptist Church in Moultrie, Georgia, whom cynical friends call the Coca-Cola bishop. Bob has given a great deal of money for Gresham's work as well as personal gifts to Gresham; and every month Gresham sends him a short sermon dealing with general moral and religious concepts in terms of practical facts like carbonation and syrup. – *From an article on Bob Woodruff of Coca-Cola in* Fortune.

Short and Simple Annals

Oliver Morosco, 65, once famous and wealthy theatrical producer who discovered many stage and screen stars, was killed today when he was hit by a street car here as he was crossing the street. He remained unidentified for several hours as he had only eight cents with him. – *UP dispatch from Hollywood.*

Occupation Problem: I

Younger men and women, who had newspaper training under the Germans until they were discovered to be anti-Nazi, are as much of a problem as the older people. Owing to their training, they have no sense of objectivity whatever in their reporting. Their stories invariably are "angled" on anti-Nazi lines. – *Charles E. Egan in the New York* Times.

The Folklore of Capitalism

"It's a long story, but the gist of it is that Big Business threw itself, without thought of profit, wholeheartedly into war production. . . ." – *From* Big Business in a Democracy, *by James Truslow Adams.*

On the Home Front

Maybe the George Tysons of Boston, Newport and Arizona are psychic! Anyway, while Washington was gravely debating the wisdom of dropping an atomic bomb to save the lives of countless doughboys and MacArthur, despite the Nips' surrender, is preparing to lead an occupation army . . . the Tysons have been making what certainly resemble postwar plans to present their debutante daughter, Harriet Elizabeth, at the "most brilliant debut Newport has seen in years." – *From the society column of the Boston* Globe.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

A Soldier on Senator Bilbo

SIR: I have just read of Senator Bilbo's call for segregation in his mealy-mouthed warning of racial strife in Detroit.

I wish the Senator could see this ward. Here are five Negroes, two Filipinos, a Japanese Filipino, a Nisei Japanese, a full-blooded Hawaiian, and about 17 native Americans, some of various foreign parentages and some of them from the Deep South. I should like the Senator to see how all of those more able help their less able buddies—those who can walk pushing those in wheel chairs, those on crutches hobbling to the PX on errands for their at present bed-ridden buddies, and everyone helping everyone else to dress, to light cigarettes, to write letters—in complete harmony, with no regard for color or nationality. I should like the Senator to come to this ward, so that we could all get out of bed and throw him out—together.

c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, Calif. SGT. K. L. M.

Hirohito and Japanese Anti-Fascists

SIR: I was extremely perturbed to read in your International Notes for August 27 an attempt by E. L. P. to use Ken Mori's article on this subject against the critics of the policies of Mr. Grew and Captain Zacharias. From my own acquaintance with the program of the Japanese People's Emancipation League and the circumstances of the polemic with the *Ta Kung Pao*, as well as from many personal conversations last year with both Okano and Ken Mori himself, I know E. L. P.'s conclusions to be not only unfounded but seriously misleading.

The controversy between the *Ta Kung Pao* and the JPEL (then still the Anti-War League of Japanese Residents in China) took place in 1943. It centered not on the treatment of a defeated Japan but on the best way of weaning the Japanese army and people from their support of a war which they had been bamboozled into believing to be the only alternative to national extinction. Japan was still very powerful. The argument was over methods of psychological warfare.

Certain Chinese experts and an isolated Chungking Japanese named Aoyama who was affiliated with them maintained that the program of the League, designed to disintegrate the morale of the Japanese army, should call for the overthrow of the Emperor. The Japanese Anti-War League, represented by Wataru Kaji and his associates in Chungking, and by Okano, Mori and others in Yenan, opposed this view. Their opposition was embodied in the JPEL's first program. They maintained that Japanese soldiers were still strongly in the grip of religious illusions about the Emperor and that the role of the Zaibatsu was not a central issue at the time. If a wedge were driven between the people and soldiers on one hand and the militarists on the other, the Emperor would be likely to expose himself completely as the chieftain of the whole complex of aggression and so become open to attack. The Zaibatsu would either be similarly exposed or split, in which case those of them who came out against the war *while it was still going on* might be leniently treated. This was the meaning of the "horse" analogy.

The only post-surrender statement by the Japanese People's Emancipation League of which we have heard in America is Okano's warning that the present situation has already enabled Japan's rulers to lay their plans for the third world war. We do, however, have extensive verbatim quotations from Okano's address, "Building a Democratic Japan," delivered in Yenan early *this* year, when the defeat of Japan was already close enough to be dealt with. Here is what Okano said:

1. First of all, war criminals must be severely punished. This is an absolute necessity for the security of future peace and for democracy in Japan. The foremost war criminals are the mili-

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tary leaders who have planned or taken part in wars since 1931 and commanders who have directed or executed atrocities and plunder in occupied territories. The reactionary politicians [including bureaucrats] who have coöperated actively with the militarists must also be punished. Then comes the motivating force of war, the big armament capitalists who have hauled in huge profits during the war. . . . The state must confiscate the entire wartime profits of these capitalists and their industrial enterprises must be nationalized . . . to prevent their preparation for a new war. They must be absolutely excluded from any part in political activities of the postwar Japanese central or local governments. . . .

2. Militarists must be deprived of their special privileges such as direct appeal to the throne and the rule that army and navy ministers must be generals or admirals on the active list. The influence of the militarists must be liquidated politically, economically and culturally. Reactionary or semi-military organizations under their leadership [reservists' leagues, Black Dragon Society, etc.—I. E.] must be dissolved and it is essential that their leaders be punished.

3. An amnesty must be granted to all political prisoners who are not fascists. Freedom of speech, writing, assembly, association and religious belief should be guaranteed. Progressive books and periodicals, labor unions, peasant unions and student organizations should be restored. . . . Limitations in the election law must be abolished and men and women over 18 given the right to vote and be elected. The legal existence and freedom of the Communist Party must be guaranteed and all other parties must be allowed to restore their organizations. . . . The present Diet must be dissolved and the Diet members dismissed. . . . All special laws opposed to democracy and oppressing the people should be repealed. . . . Administrative power should be vested in the de-facto government elected by a [new] Diet. . . . Militarists, financial magnates and big landlords should be deprived of all power and a people's government set up which represents the interests of the people. . . . Monopolies, finance, power supply, shipping, and armament enterprises, etc., must be taken over. . . .

Regarding the Emperor, Okano declared that he was firstly the center of the "feudal, despotic, dictatorial political system [with] absolute political and dictatorial power," and secondly, a "personification of God."

The Emperor as head of the despotic political system and the Emperor's prerogatives must be immediately abolished to realize the democratic system.

But we must take a considerate attitude toward his second role. The faith implanted in the mind of the public during the past 70 years is considerable and profound. We do not favor the retention of the Emperor in postwar Japan because he is one of those responsible for the war and the symbol of reactionary policies and thought. If he is retained, the remnants of the reactionary forces will be able to realize their strength with him as center and disturb peace and democracy. But if the majority of the people demand his retention, we must make concessions. Therefore we propose to decide by a people's referendum . . . the problem of dethroning or retaining him.

This means, in essence: abolish the political monarchy; try to end the cult.

It is further notable that in discussing the confiscation of the property and profits of the war capitalists Okano specifically mentions Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and "other armament kings." Briefly, the Zaibatsu.

New York City I. EPSTEIN

SIR: I certainly did not want to use the program of the JPEL in support of the policies advocated by the appeasement group in this country. But I believe that in spite of Japan's defeat, Mori's appraisal of the attitude of the Japanese people toward their Emperor and their rulers has not measurably changed in the last two years. If it has, I should be the first to welcome it. However, it is surely not safe to prejudge this attitude in a doctrinaire fashion.

New York City E. L. P.

Mr. Fitts and the FPC

SIR: There is a vacancy on the Federal Power Commission due to the resignation of John W. Scott. The vital importance of having a capable and experienced man to fill that vacancy is obvious. May I take this occasion to suggest to all readers of the *New Republic* that they write to President Truman and their respective Senators and Representatives, urging the appointment of Frank Fitts.

Mr. Fitts has had long and intimate experience in public utility matters, first as a co-worker of the late J. D. Ross; also as a member of the Seattle City Council, and for the last eight years or more, chief field representative of the Bonneville Power Administration. His appointment to the FPC is being urged by both Republican and Democratic elements in the Northwest, since the position is distinctly nonpartisan. He is supported by the officials of the Grange, the National Farmers' Union, the AFL and the CIO, labor unions, the statewide Irrigation and Public Utility District organizations of both Oregon and Washington, and many commercial business and professional groups.

Immediate action is needed. I shall be glad to send to anyone desiring more detailed information, an extended biographical sketch of Mr. Fitts's experience and qualifications.

A. M. CHURCH, Editor and Publisher,
Salem, Ore. *Capital Press*, Salem, Oregon

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The Reverend William E. McManus of Washington, D. C., writes that neither the instances cited by Lucille B. Milner ("Church, State and Schools," the *New Republic*, August 13) nor the Mead-Aiken bill threaten freedom of religion, which, he says, was the object of the original constitutional separation of Church and State. Coöperation between the state and religious groups on educational matters would not, he writes, "subject one to the control of the other."

John A. T. Kingsbury, of Chicago, commenting on the same article, points out that religious educators have refused "to submit their subject matter to the same methods of tests and empirical inquiry which characterizes all other branches of scholarship. . . . The religious educator will claim a special method for his religious instruction, and he will not submit the content of his instruction to the critical examination of the methodology of scholarship and research. Because he refuses to allow his areas of interest to be opened to inquiry and critical examination, he therefore disqualifies himself from the educational stream of American culture. He makes a false claim for education. . . . As long as religious education is carried on in terms of an exception to the methods of critical examination of scholarship, it has no place in our free schools." Mr. Kingsbury thinks, however, that "religious insights" should be included in education for an understanding of their influence on our culture.

Miss Lilly Popper, director, writes us about the Metropolitan Music School at 111 West Eighty-eighth Street, New York 24, a coöperative, non-profit-making school teaching children instruments, voice and theory, with an adult department and an adult extension division which includes study as well as lecture classes and forums. The school Bulletin may be had on request.

International Labor Defense, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York 3, will send single copies of the Army Talk Orientation Fact Sheet No. 70, "Prejudice—Roadblock to Progress," which they have reprinted to help combat racial and religious intolerance, on written reques

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Books in Review

The Wallace Goal

All of us have read plenty of books by politicians and we know their typical characteristics only too well. Henry Wallace's *Sixty Million Jobs*[1] has none of them. To begin with, it contains an immense amount of accurate and highly significant information. It is packed with facts. To read it is an education in applied economics. It should be read and reread by every voter. It should be studied in every high school and college in America.

Wallace is well known for packing his speeches and his writings with statistics. But this is not a book of dry statistics. In every section there is clear analysis which any intelligent reader can follow. No one who reads it discerningly can say that Wallace is interested merely in jobs. Jobs are the means to the "good life" for the individual, the family and the nation. The enduring values, amid the survey of markets, production, jobs, finance and technology, are never forgotten: the concluding section is entitled "The Fuller Life for All." "In the final analysis the full life is a thing of the spirit. It is a matter of ideas and ideals, of both education and religion."

The book contains a few well selected charts and tables which ought to become a part of the mental furniture of every American citizen. One relates to the rising trend of the national product from 1880 to 1944. Another shows the distribution of 47 million jobs in 1940 and the projected 60 million jobs in 1950. The table on "National Budgets for 60 Million Jobs" is a model of clarity, simplicity and effectiveness in the exposition of a difficult idea. Every citizen would be a more enlightened member of our democracy if he undertook to master the few highly significant charts and tables in this book.

Sixty million jobs, a $200-billion gross national product, being round numbers, make convenient slogans. But it happens that these round numbers are thoroughly defensible and indeed represent the consensus of competent statistical opinion. It must be emphasized, however, that these figures relate to the year 1950 and to the 1944 general average index of prices.[2] A full-employment national product, say in 1946, would be substantially lower: first, because the labor force would be nearly 2½ million lower than in 1950 and second, because we may reasonably expect a considerable increase in per-worker productivity from 1946 to 1950. Thus a $200-billion gross national product for 1950 at full employment would be equivalent to, say, $180-billion gross national product in 1946. And if one prefers to make his estimates in terms of 1942 prices, it would be necessary to knock off another $10 billion—thus giving $170 billion as the full-employment gross national product for 1946. Many of my readers, I am sure, have become familiar with the much quoted $170-billion figure, and I cite the data just given to show that it is not inconsistent with Wallace's goal.

The basic importance of a full-employment program is pointed up in the chapter on the "Interdependence of the Parts." Specific programs dealing with specific problems can have only a limited success unless the general over-all goal of full employment is reached. Thus, for example: "Fifteen million postwar unemployed would mean a cut in net agricultural income to about one-fourth of what it was in 1944." Again:

> The GI Bill of Rights doesn't mean much unless there is full employment for all. If there is not full employment, most of the veterans who borrow money to go into business will lose it; many of those who borrow money to buy farms will lose their farms; those who use the government to pay for their education may find it impossible to find a place for their specialized skill when they finish school. By all of which I mean to say that, fundamentally, the only real way to protect the veteran is to produce to the limit for prosperous peace.

Wallace, like Hamilton, Gallatin, Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams before him, believes that "our democratic government has the definite responsibility of stimulating our free-enterprise system, not just in behalf of the general welfare, but also to keep free enterprise continuously a growing concern." The author calls to witness the role of internal improvements, the Homestead Act, the subsidizing of the railroads, the "expansion of the automobile industry by building more and better roads," the aid to our shipping and aviation industries. "Largely because of this governmental stimulation and participation, we have never failed, even in the last three generations, to double our national production every twenty years. . . . The future is filled with new frontiers."

In order to keep free enterprise free and to keep the door open for new industry, Wallace stresses the importance of research. Fundamentally, the most significant things in a modern economy are "ideas, technology and natural resources." We must have "technological freedom as well as political freedom." In the world of tomorrow we shall have to be "constantly alert if we are to hold our own in science and technology":

> But free enterprise will be shackled and restrained if research is dominated by a small number of corporations and cartels. . . . Unless the little man also has access to the bounties of technology, free enterprise will suffer to the detriment of the full employment of labor and our resources. . . . Most of our advanced research is concentrated today in about one hundred companies; and this concentration inevitably results in the restricted use of scientific information.

Wallace believes that the federal government should make research facilities available to the thousands of small

[1] Sixty Million Jobs, by Henry Wallace. New York: Simon and Schuster. 83 pages. $1. (Clothbound edition published jointly by Simon and Schuster and Reynal and Hitchcock. 224 pages. $2.)

[2] Shifts of course will occur in the price level of different commodity groups. Farm commodity prices will certainly be lower, relative to industrial prices. Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the use of a general level of prices as a means of statistical measurement of gross national product should not be taken as a forecast. — A. H. H.

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businesses. As Secretary of Commerce, he can be expected to lay out a program of conducting, sponsoring and coordinating research for industry in general and small business in particular, such as the Department of Agriculture has for many decades past performed for farmers. The "Department of Agriculture, the various state experimental stations financed jointly by the federal government and the state, and the four great regional agriculture laboratories furnish abundant and conclusive proof of the benefits of government research." Wallace argues that technical information for every business and institution should be made available through technical-information offices in each state.

Similarly, in the interest of full employment at home and rising living standards throughout the world, Wallace believes that we should play our part in making available modern science and modern tools and equipment everywhere. "The industrial revolution as yet has brought very few benefits, if any, to the great bulk of two billion people in the world. . . . Three-quarters of the world's peoples make little use of machinery in city industry or on farms." This process of development all over the world can, if wisely managed, make its contribution to opportunities for investment of American funds and the work of American hands and brains.

But in developing foreign-investment outlets we must take care to avert disaster by becoming "bigger buyers of the goods of other countries than we were before the war. . . . To escape a repetition of the disasters of the twenties and thirties, we must build up the national policies and the arrangements that will make foreign trade a permanent two-way street—not a temporary detour to a precipice."

A notable service is performed in this book (which hundreds of thousands, and one may hope millions, of American citizens will read) in calling attention to the grave deficiencies in the American scene. "In 1940, there were around 1,200 counties containing more than 15 million people which had no hospitals at all." Only 60 percent of our 3,000 counties have organized public-health services, and most of these are inadequate. About $2 billion of new hospital construction and facilities are needed, according to estimates of Surgeon General Parran. About a million continuing jobs, including doctors, nurses, technicians and assistants, would be needed to keep the hospitals going. "Assuring such medical and hospital care to everyone is more important than building roads, constructing dams or saving soil. No price is too high to pay for a healthy, vigorous and productive people."

Our grave deficiencies in education and housing are briefly but vividly presented. While only the bare essentials of our vast housing deficiencies are stated here, they "merit constant repetition because so many in the upper half of our population actually do not fully realize how much less juvenile delinquency, disease and crime there is in modern housing projects compared with conditions in adjoining slum areas." Moreover, a long-range planning of housing construction is necessary to attain greater stability in all of the construction industry.

Some interesting figures are presented with respect to investment and employment opportunities in river-valley development, land conservation, forest development, rural electrification and the private-investment opportunities which these public development projects could open up.

Finally we come to the nub of the problem—the national budget for full employment. Attention is called to the last budget message of Franklin Roosevelt, which went beyond the usual presentation of federal expenditures and receipts and presented the nation's budget as a whole. "The nation's budget is made up of four parts—(1) what consumers receive and spend; (2) what businesses take in and spend; (3) what local and state governments receive and spend; (4) what the federal government receives and spends." The nation's budget is a composite of the budgets of consumers, of business enterprise and of government—federal, state and local. The last Roosevelt budget is the forerunner of the production and employment budget outlined in the Murray full-employment bill. The Roosevelt budget is reprinted in Wallace's book and deserves careful study.

Wallace envisages a $200-billion national budget consisting in a normal year of the following component parts: consumer expenditures, $135 billion; business capital formation, $30 billion; federal, state and local outlays on goods and services, $35 billion. This budget is not a forecast, but is regarded as a reasonable point of departure for purposes of analysis and discussion. He is fully aware that "the circumstances of any given situation will dictate the best combination of the parts."

With respect to the discussion of taxation, the point to be emphasized is Wallace's unequivocal statement that he doubts the wisdom of meeting the additional social-security benefits by greatly increased payroll taxes. "To avoid the deflationary effect of heavy payroll taxes, I believe that a substantial part of social security should be paid for out of the regular federal budget, that is, out of general taxation." Moreover, he believes that taxes have an important balancing function when we face dangers of inflation or deflation. He advises raising and lowering income taxes as well as varying the rate of public expenditure as a means of achieving an economic balance. Wallace is fully aware that a compensatory fiscal program, properly managed, requires at times restriction of expenditure and increase in taxes in order to offset inflationary tendencies. A truly compensatory policy means stimulus or restraint, according to the changing requirements of economic stability.

There is a good chapter on the fiscal feasibility of a full-employment program. Here it is stressed that, even from the standpoint of the management of the public debt, it is of the utmost importance to maintain a high income level. A long quotation from Lord Macaulay with respect to the growth of the British national debt in relation to the growth of national income is given as a "timely bit of debt perspective." We have managed to double our national production every 20 years, and Wallace dares to assert that we can reach, not only a $200-billion gross national product in 1950, but a $400-billion product in 1970.

Wallace would be the first to admit that he has not been able in this book to explore at all adequately the many difficulties involved in carrying through successfully a program of continuing full employment under conditions of economic stability. But neither have any of the rest of us.

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It is no answer for any of us merely to say that we must learn by experience. We shall indeed learn by experience and we shall achieve greater success as more and more public support is won for a full-employment program. At the same time, it is incumbent upon students of economics and politics to explore to the fullest possible extent the grave difficulties that will confront us. To be sure, it is not only a matter of technical knowledge but also public education and understanding of a program which has in view the general welfare and not the extravagant claims of special-interest groups. Wallace's rich political experience makes him perfectly aware of the difficult political problems involved. Pressure groups will be with us with or without a full-employment program, but it is a reasonable assumption that the general interest of the nation as a whole can be better defended in a full-employment environment in which different economic groups are not compelled to fight bitterly to get for themselves a minimum share of a low national income.

ALVIN H. HANSEN

Words to the Wise

The American Language: Supplement One, by H. L. Mencken. New York Alfred A. Knopf. 683 pages. $5.

TO BEGIN WITH, Mr. Mencken's Supplement One to his now classic achievement, *The American Language*, is one of the most delightful books imaginable. I was astonished to find Malcolm Cowley, in his recent review of the work in *PM*, saying that "after an hour or two at the most it will put you to sleep" and suggesting that it was "better than a radio playing soft music and a box of sleeping tablets," since I had found myself dropping everything else and devoting two days to devouring its 683 pages, footnotes and all. For sheer fun of reading, it is the treat of the season. A wonderful combination of scholarship, festivity, social history, Tory crotchets, political and literary feuding, industry, genuine love of country, unashamed bias, humor, commentary on the world, compendium of American manners and anthology of Mencken prejudices, it is so filled with gusto and a high relish for the national life and language that it is far more than the mere commentary on our linguistic habits any other equally energetic student might have made it.

It can hardly be said that Mr. Mencken is growing mellow in his middle years—he is far too splendidly cantankerous a man for any such weakness—but it is true that his vigorous Tory prejudices are less exasperating than they sometimes used to be. He still hates Roosevelt and the New Deal and he can still grow absurdly angry at the idea of semantics because he suspects there is a new-fangled radical conspiracy somewhere involved, but it all seems the amiable grumbling of the rowdy old uncle who wants to hide his heart of gold. Possibly it is the venomous and mean-spirited rantings of such embittered workers along the same street as Pegler and John O'Donnell that have made the more skillful and ingenious attacks of Mencken seem honest, pointed and worthy of being taken into consideration. Certainly when he attacks some of the horrible words and phrases official Washington has developed since 1933 he is on strong ground, and properly he seems a little uncomfortable when he gives approval to "globaloney," a word he would ordinarily have loathed, just because it was used as an attack on a man he dislikes.

Of course, the new Supplement shows the author carrying on his war with England and still apparently mixing up Samuel Johnson and Winston Churchill upon occasion. Yet here again it is to be suspected that, not mellowness, but at least the sort of friendliness amid enmity that can often get into a long-time feud has entered the relationship between Great Britain and H. L. Mencken. It may be, as spiteful enemies suggest, that *The American Language* was begun more out of dislike for John Bull's politics than love for Uncle Sam's speech, but, even if that is so, with the years the classic work has become a real study of genuine language differences, filled with an honest love for the richer manifestations of American speech, and Mr. Mencken's interest in the British reaction to the invasion of our form of the language has become more scientific than scornful. Assuredly he is being scientific rather than patriotic when he describes the superior vitality and inventiveness of Americans in keeping the language dynamic.

Although he is interested enough in the sheer exuberance of word creation to welcome almost any manifestation of the urge to invent new expressions, Mencken is happily still critical of certain innovations in the language. It is his belief that, while we should accept any new freshness and vigor that prove helpful, colorful and properly interpretive, we should also be discriminating and take only the best, and he is optimistic enough to believe that new words face a survival-of-the-fittest test and must fight their way into acceptance. Wisely he is scornful of the influence of Mr. Luce's *Time* and sympathetic about the contributions of the theatrical trade weekly, *Variety*. I am particularly happy to see that he pays high tribute to the late Jack Conway of *Variety*, who was a superbly vivid contributor to the raciness of the language during the twenties.

It seems to me a pity that Mencken accepts the unpleasant "to contact" so readily and also freely uses "World War II," which I cannot help regarding as just another *Time* affectation. It is my impression that when he defends "to contact" he does so entirely on grammatical terms and does not excuse it on the score of its adding any richness or zest to the language. Since the words and phrases he really admires are approved of on a rather esthetic basis, I cannot help feeling that his heart is not with "to contact." However, one of the beauties of the book is that it gives you a fine opportunity to fight with the author about his approval or disapproval of all sorts of good or horrible American expressions, depending upon how you feel about them. Then, too, there is the fun of catching him in what you will feel sure are various minor errors. Every reviewer has found his favorite alleged mistakes and I, sharing in the joy of the chase, question Mr. Mencken when he speaks of an *entente cordiale* with Russia in, of all years, 1940; speaks of a chocolate sundae as a "drink"; describes a prairie oyster as being anything save a combination of egg and worcestershire sauce and omits the expression "feeling no pain" in describing a gentleman on a bender.

Of course, every reader will have his favorite section in the Supplement, and by the preceding paragraph I have

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perhaps already given away the fact that, if pressed, my choice would be the pages on the theory, practice and vernacular of drinking. I share with Mr. Mencken his lament that the word "saloon" seemed to have virtually disappeared from the language, but would point out to him that it appears to be on the way back. It is my firm conviction that he is at his best when he writes concerning cocktails: "The principal manuals for bartenders list hundreds; in the Savoy Cocktail Book there are actually formulae for nearly 700. I have myself invented eleven, and had nine named after me. William Warren Woollcott and I once employed a mathematician to figure out how many could be fashioned of the *materia bibulica* ordinarily available in a first-rate bar. He reported that the number was 17,864,392,788. We tried 273 at random and found them all good, though some, of course, were better than others." Here is really worthy scientific investigation!

There are so many fascinating items that it is difficult to know just which ones should be contemplated in a review. There is, for example, the investigation of the legend that it was once proposed to make German the official language of the United States and that the proposition was lost by a single vote. As late as 1938, Nazi press officials in Berlin were trying to tell this to some of the American newspaper correspondents there. Mencken demolishes the myth with cool detachment and without the regret that some of his detractors might have expected to find in his destruction of such a tale. Then it is amusing to note how the author, who has always rather prided himself on his freedom from prudery of any sort, backs gingerly into the subject when he takes up the matter of what he calls "forbidden words." The important thing is that the gusto and gayety of the book could disguise from only the most literal-minded the scholarship that has gone into it, just as the hatred of Roosevelt progress should conceal from no one the fine American richness and warmth of the work. Finally there is the enlivening detail that when Mr. Mencken does achieve Tory violence he begins to sound like his old enemy, Dr. Johnson. RICHARD WATTS JR

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MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
MONDAY EVENING, SEPT. 24, 7:30 P. M.

SPEAKERS
HAROLD LASKI
Chairman British Labor Party
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ISABEL DE PALENCIA **NORMAN CORWIN**
JOHANNES STEEL **LISA SERGIO**
BARTLEY CRUM, Chairman
(Others to be Announced)

EDWIN FRANKO GOLDMAN BAND
Directed by Mr. Goldman
BROADWAY AND HOLLYWOOD TRIBUTE TO SPANISH REPUBLICAN FIGHTERS
Tickets from $3.60 to $.60 for sale at
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Workers Book Shop, 50 East 13th Street
Book Fair, 133 West 44th Street
Music Room, 129 West 44th Street
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 13 Astor Place
Sponsored by the
Spanish Refugee Appeal, 192 Lexington Ave., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

Germans: Good and Otherwise

Six of Them, by Alfred Neuman. New York: The Macmillan Company. 327 pages. $2.75.
Beneath the Stone, by George Tabori. Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company. 225 pages. $2.50.
Sowing the Wind, by Martha Dodd. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 311 pages. $2.50.

THERE HAVE BEEN three recent additions to the mass of novels concerned with Nazi Germany and the question of the "good German." The most serious and important of the three is Alfred Neumann's *Six of Them*. Herr Neumann deals with actual events: an anti-Nazi demonstration staged by students at Munich in 1943; the manifesto issued by some of the students, and their subsequent execution. (This small but significant revolt was largely ignored in this country but attracted considerable attention in England, where it was a regular theme of BBC broadcasts to Germany.) Neumann reconstructs the life history of his six rebels, four of whom have grown up under the Hitler system, and shows convincingly the factors which caused them to take their stand. Unfortunately, the scene in which the six are tried before the "People's Court" is less credible. The chief judge allows each defendant complete freedom of speech, a convenient literary device, but hardly appropriate in a novel which up to this point has been kept on a fairly realistic level. One feels that no Nazi judge would tolerate testimony so devastating—and so long. At times one feels that the author himself is speaking, or rather writing an impassioned pamphlet, but in general the characters are believable. Neumann resists the temptation to make all the defendants saints; one of them is a potential traitor whose position is ambiguous almost until the end. Even the judges are not uniformly monstrous.

In a sense, the book is a plea for the Germans, but there is no attempt to extenuate their crimes. "Can there ever to be a distinction between Germans who are guilty, partly guilty, and not guilty?" asks one of the six conspirators. Another answers: "How can that concern us? We are not building the party of those who are not guilty, but of those who have faith again, the right faith." The question of whether Germany will have a "new life" or a "long night" after the end of the war is left open. Nevertheless the novel is optimistic, all too optimistic. The hope that the "six" are the forerunners of six million anti-fascist Germans is expressed so often that it becomes a *leitmotif*, almost an incantation. But despite rhetoric and sentimentality, this is an honest and moving book.

Beneath the Stone is a very different affair, a slick, sophisticated, competent job. The central character is a Prussian, Major von Borst, who has been educated—and

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snubbed—in England; the whole story is told from his point of view. Into his hands falls an Englishman, apparently a secret agent. The core of the book consists of Borst's attempts to justify the ways of the Third Reich to the Englishman and above all to himself. The arrival of the inevitable Gestapo agent, bent on torture, precipitates matters; Borst enables the Englishman to escape, and commits suicide.

Despite its trivial plot, the novel has political implications which deserve discussion. Borst is represented as a person of fairly decent impulses; his Prussian arrogance appears as a compensation for his feeling of inferiority vis-à-vis the English. He is sensitive and almost cultured, much more interesting than his English prisoner. It is dangerous, I think, that the Englishman never answers Borst's contentions that the German aristocrats are a higher race, far superior to the "stupid bourgeoisie" who control the democracies. And does Borst's suicide imply that the traditional Prussian officer is a good German after all, or merely that the game is up for Prussia? Presumably the latter, but Mr. Tabori could express things a good deal more clearly.

The Gestapo agent is an incredible mixture: he knows philosophy and literature, has an almost Proustian memory, and converses with a brilliance that is strictly ersatz Koestler. There may be some symbolism in all this; it baffled me. Mr. Tabori knows his Central Europe; he has a certain wit; and he has put in plenty of sex and sadism. His novel has the glitter and the intrinsic value of a ten-cent-store diamond.

Miss Dodd's theme is in a sense the reverse of Neumann's and Tabori's: she treats of a German who was originally "good" or at least likable, but who degenerates in the atmosphere of the Third Reich. A famous flier (apparently the aviator, Ernst Udet) returns to Germany in 1934; he dislikes the Nazis and holds out against them for a while, but succumbs to the flattery of Hitler and the threats of the Gestapo. One fears that such a character is far more typical of recent Germans than are Neumann's heroic students. Politically, Miss Dodd's book is probably the soundest of the three, and the descriptions of high Nazis are doubtless authentic. But most of her characters are lay figures, clichés abound, and the dialogue is reminiscent of the Lanny Budd stories. One wishes that she had decided to express her ideas and experiences in a less ambitious medium.

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A Reader's List

THE WORLD, THE FLESH AND FATHER SMITH, by Bruce Marshall (Houghton, Mifflin, $2.50). Bruce Marshall is a Scotch convert to Catholicism who writes novels that emphasize the kindliness and humanity of the priesthood. He generally dwells upon the more subdued aspects of human affairs, their humor, whimsy and pathos. *Father Malachy's Miracle* had enough color and originality, along with these qualities, to make an entertaining and appealing book. His latest novel attempts a repeat performance that is not quite successful. It covers three decades and two wars, and depicts a variety of people who come under Father Smith's wise and beneficent guidance. On such a wide canvas, Mr. Marshall's modest pigments are spread so thinly that one's attention is apt to stray unless a special concentration is brought to bear on it.

Crime and Punishment

THE PORTABLE MURDER BOOK, edited by Joseph Henry Jackson (Viking, $2). This new collection and Pocket Books' *True Crime Stories* constitute the best anthologies so far published in the absorbing field of actual criminal cases. Mr. Jackson has included most of the outstanding writers on celebrated murderers—Roughead, H. B. Irving, Pearson, Bolitho (two studies), Woollcott, Stewart Holbrook and F. Tennyson Jesse—and each is represented by excellent work. There is also a welcome breadth of coverage, with the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Hungary and the Antipodes all furnishing gripping proof that fact is stranger—and much more interesting—than fiction.

MURDER PLAYS AN UGLY SCENE, by L. A. G. Strong (Crime Club, $2). Mr. Strong, whose first detective story, *All Fall Down*, was a pleasant and unhackneyed effort, has come through with another which, like its predecessor, depends more on character than on plot. Who killed Emmeline Vane, principal of a theatrical-training school and much hated autocrat? Ellis Mackay of Scotland Yard, who showed to good advantage in *All Fall Down*, again does an intuitive and amusing job, though old hands aren't likely to be much surprised at the solution. E. H.

Contributors

Arthur P. Chew has been a staff member of the Office of Information of the United States Department of Agriculture for more than twenty years. He has written many official publications as well as signed articles.

Master Sergeant James S. Oda is a Japanese American, now in the armed forces, who lived in Japan for many years.

Bernard Jaffe heads the Physical Science Department in New York City's James Madison High School. He wrote *Crucibles*, which won the Francis Bacon Award in 1930, *Outposts of Science* in 1935 and *Men of Science in America* last year.

Potomacus is an office pseudonym.

Joseph A. Lauwerys is a reader in Education at the University of London and deputy chairman of the International New Education Fellowship.

Alvin H. Hansen is Littauer Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University and the author, among other books, of *Full Recovery or Stagnation* and *Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles*.

Richard Watts Jr. was for many years dramatic critic of the New York *Herald Tribune*. He is a regular contributor to the *New Republic*.

H. C. Hatfield, assistant professor of German at Williams College, has recently returned from London, where he worked for more than a year in the German section of the American Broadcasting Station in Europe.

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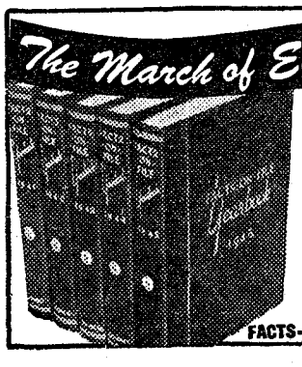

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